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GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS IN GERMANY

LOUI LALK WEINSTEIN



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GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

Gustavus Adolphus in Germany

FROM THE GERMAN

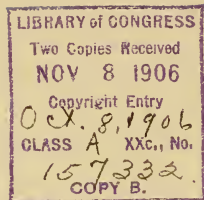
BY

LOUI LALK WEINSTEIN

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Gustavus Adolphus in Germany.

I.

In the Chamber of the Queen.

IT was Sunday afternoon toward the end of January in the year 1630. The stillness of winter reigned on the parks and streets of Stockholm; the fast-falling snowflakes veiled the outlook into the distance and brought a premature twilight, which was felt even in the apartments of the castle, although it occupied an elevated position.

In muffled strokes the bells announced four o'clock, here and there in the village houses faint lights already began to glimmer.

In the forepart of the castle with its beautiful view of the many cliffs and bays, far out to the breakers of the Baltic sea, we find the boudoir of the queen. Marie Eleanor was born a princess of Brandenburg, and for ten years had been the wife of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden. Neither convenience nor politics, but genuine love had formed this union, and preserved it pure, sincere and holy, — a good model for the people of all ranks and classes.

According to his daily custom when affairs of

state did not interfere, the king on this day paid a visit to his wife in her apartments. They had engaged in pleasant conversation. Now the queen was busy with embroidery, while the king read from a plainly bound book which he had carried in his hand when he entered the room.

A Sabbath afternoon! What peace is not found in those hours! The precious word of God, to which we have listened, elevates and hallows mind and soul, leaving its blessing with us through all the following week.

The shadows of twilight gradually grew deeper in the room; the flickering fire in the grate sent a longer and rosier reflection across the dark carpet. The queen was obliged to drop her work; the king, however, continued reading from the little book, albeit with strained eyes.

The queen touched a silver hand-bell. It was the summons for the servant to bring the candles. While she herself remained in her easy chair, the king moved to the table near the fire place, that he might proceed with his reading.

The queen now had the opportunity quietly to observe her beloved husband. Her eyes rested with approval on him. What a handsome man! He was of powerful stature; his large blue eyes expressed sovereignty and gentleness. His face was oval and

blond, his short, thick hair was light. His large slightly aquiline nose gave him a somewhat determined look, an impression heightened by his pointed beard. Dignity and gentleness were combined in the poise and movements of the king.

The somewhat sudden smiling and gentle nodding of her beloved husband attracted the queen's attention.

"May I ask," she said "what so absorbs your attention and interest?"

She approached him, laid her arm on his shoulder, and cast a hasty glance into the book.

"Autobiographical notes of my blessed father, king Carl IX" he read, "short reports of state and family affairs, thoughts and aphorisms." "It must also contain humorous incidents," said the queen, "for you were laughing over it."

"And not without reason," answered the king; "hear for yourself what my father wrote."—He read:

"On the 9th of December, 1594, at eight o'clock in the morning, there was born to me by my second wife, Christina, princess of Holstein-Gottorp, at the castle of Stockholm, a son, who in holy baptism received the name of Gustavus Adolphus. More than ten years previous, the celebrated Astrologist and Mathematician, Tycho de Brahe, read in the heavens, that a new star, discovered in Cassiopia, denoted a

great prince, born in the north, who, as the lion of the midnight, would perform wonderful deeds, and would rescue the Protestant Church from the power of Rome. O merciful Lord and Master! Shall this mercy, perhaps fall to the lot of my new-born son?"

The king was silent a moment. Then he said: "My dear, good father"; and, laying his hand on the page, he leaned back in his chair.

"But has not this prophecy, in part at least, been fulfilled"? said the queen tenderly. "Have you not become a great prince in the north?"

A faint smile spread over the king's face.

"And moreover," continued the queen, "your father's own prophecy, frequently made, when his council endeavored to persuade him to great undertakings, and with a wave of the hand he pointed to you and said: 'Ille faciet'! (He will do it)—has this not been fulfilled? Speak for yourself, have you not during your reign of eighteen years conducted great wars with Russia, Poland and Denmark; enhanced the power and prestige of your house and your kingdom; increased the welfare of your country and people, promoted right and justice by wise laws and measures, and made for yourself a great name with friend and foe?"

The king heaved a sigh.

"Consequently you should be content with your

In the Chamber of the Queen.

efforts," continued the queen, "and enjoy the long-desired rest in your kingdom, and live henceforth only for your child and me."

The king arose. With his hands folded behind him he paced the room.

Halting before the queen he said earnestly: "And yet not everything is done, that my father desired. The key-stone is still wanting in my structure, but,"—raising his eyes toward heaven, he said with a clear, bold, and determined voice: "I will yet put it in place."

"Only not with sword in the bloody turmoil of battle!" argued the queen. Taking his hand, she said: "O, enough, enough of the care and anxiety, which you fiery, untamed giant of the north have caused me!"

The king clasped the beloved wife in his arms.

"Has not the strong hand of God often rescued you from imminent danger?" said she, raising to him in faithful, conjugal love eyes that were moist with tears. "On Widsjo sea it was, in fierce fight against the Danes, in the stormy night when the ice broke under your horse and you fell into the deep water. The brave rider, Jacob Ericson, saved you at the risk of his own life. Then again"—

"Jacob Ericson!" exclaimed the king, visibly affected at the recollection of this plain man's heroic deed. "I bestowed upon him a farm at Igelstadt. He

has prospered, I hear; he has doubtless grown old and has thrifty sons and daughters, who have married well. Remind me of him occasionally, Eleanor, that we may visit brave Ericson in his village some day."

The queen did not answer; her thoughts dwelt on the dangers to which the king had exposed himself.

"Then again, it was three years ago in a siege against the Poles," she hastily continued. "You had attacked their camp, seized their luggage, victory was assured you. But while at the head of a detachment of infantry a musket ball wounded you in the shoulder. Had it struck you a few inches lower it would have pierced your heart. You were carried to Dirshau. There for a long time, you lay, in a strange land on a lonely bed of pain. O, that I might have been near you and nursed you!"

"Enough, enough, Eleanor," cried the king, "these reminiscences excite you too much. Nevertheless it is a monarch's most sacred duty to precede his men fearlessly in battle. Then the soldiers ignore any and every danger, while without a courageous leader the largest armies never reap fame, never make great conquests."

"And was it otherwise at the Liebe river in Poland?" said the queen, in a tone of tender reproach,

In the Chamber of the Queen.

"Even there you would have been lost had not the squadron of Erich Soop apprehended your dangerous position in time and rescued you from the clutches of the enemy."

"And yet some day it may come to me" said the king pensively, almost in an undertone.

"God forbid, God forbid" cried the queen, embracing her husband as though never, never to part from him.

The king tried bravely to conceal his anxiety.

"You will not escape me to-day," said the faithful spouse; "and if a secret grief oppresses you — O, pour it out to me! Yes, I claim my right to it. Did I not swear at the altar to share with you joy and sorrow?"

"What need is there of many words when you know —," he stopped abruptly, propped both hands on the table, and thoughtfully drooped his head.

"It offended you" said the queen candidly "that the German emperor rendered the Poles assistance against you, and that on your remonstrance against such procedure, the arrogant Wallenstein sent you the contemptuous answer: "The emperor has soldiers enough cheerfully to supply his threatened neighbors and friends with them."

"Go on, Eleanor, go on," said the king, brooding thoughtfully.

"Wallenstein's occupation of the Mecklenburger dukedom does not suit you."

"Never will I consent to it" cried the king in quickly rising anger, "that the German cities on the Baltic and the North sea should become the haunts for the Hapsburger pirates."

"The rejection of your ambassadors from the peace negotiations at Lubeck"—

"Was against all international law!" stormed the king, "an affront which I shall never forget. And never that Wallenstein, as I am correctly informed, wrote to General Arnim concerning the Stralsunder affair, that he wanted nothing to do with Sweden, because there is nothing but lying and deceit."

"The ruffian" said the queen excited, while Gustavus resumed his pacing.

"A dangerous neighbor at sea" she added. "One who if he deemed it expedient, would blockade the Swedish coast, and finally burn the houses over our heads, did I not devise ways and means to avert this danger," said the king with emotion.

Collecting himself, he stood before his wife, took her hand and said:

"My father earnestly advised me to dwell in peace with the Evangelical princes of Germany, and to promote the cause of the Lutheran confession to the best of my ability, that it become a power and a strong-

hold for all who are persecuted on account of their faith. He often said, 'Listen favorably to those who seek thy help, and do not let them go away uncom-forted.' Eleanor, you know me! I could bear the insults offered me by the emperor and his field-mar-shal, if the peace and welfare of my kingdom demanded it. But it were a sin, a crime, longer to ignore the fact that Austria persecutes my German fellow-believers, or to permit her, urged on by the arts and deceits of the Jesuits, at last to put her heavy foot also upon the free neck of the Lutheran Swedes. Time presses. In the enemy's camp they are much more active than we are. The emperor has taken a bold, outrageous step. By the Restitution-Edict he demands that all bishoprics and parishes, that have been confiscated since the Religious Peace of Passau in 1552 should be returned by the Evangelicals! To every Catholic prince has been granted the right to force his subjects to adopt his faith. Those who protest, yes, even those who delay are threatened with the ban of the Empire. Eleanor, that cuts deep into the flesh of Saxony, Brandenburg, Holstein and Pom-merania; for there are the former episcopal duke-doms of Magdeburg — ha, this one, like Stralsund defended itself manfully against Wallenstein, and proved itself a perfect tower of strength — then Bremen, Halberstadt, Minden, Verden, Luneberg,

Ratzeburg, Kammin, Brandenburg, Havelburg, Merseberg, Raumburg and Meissen. Can there be anything worse than such persecution? And is not every king and ruler to be despised, if, bound by the same religious faith to the persecuted, he carelessly looks on this miserable play while his arm is strong and free?"

The queen gazed at her husband with luminous eyes.

"Depend on it" continued the king after a moment, "it is no child's play in which I voluntarily engage. But my cause is a good and just one; the Lord will be with me, of that I am convinced. And the Lord is my judge, that I do not take this step to acquire vain glory, but to save Protestant freedom, even though I sacrifice my possessions and my blood, my liberty and my life! You are a German, Eleanor, your faith is my faith! It is sorely tried. For the sake of this precious gift we must despise all earthly possessions. Thus I expect you also to be strong! Will you be, Eleanor?"

"Yes," said the queen smiling amid tears, and offered him her hand.

A fair, curly-haired head now peered through the door. It was their only child, princess Christine, at this time four years old.

In the Chamber of the Queen.

"May I come papa, mama?" she asked, before entering.

The king hastened toward her, took her up, and placed her in the arms of her mother.

II.

A Retrospect.

For almost twelve years war had raged in Germany. In Bohemia where it began, the first act of the great tragedy was quickly brought to a close by the defeat of the king, Frederick V of the Palatinate, who had been elected by the Bohemians. While he wandered through Germany, homeless and despised, the Spaniards overran the Palatinate and devastated it terribly.

'Tis true, the unfortunate king of Bohemia found defenders of his cause, but being too weak to withstand the secret power of the Roman Catholic league, at whose head the arch-duke Max of Bavaria stood, one leader after another succumbed.

So Austria was practically saved by the league. Out of gratitude, the emperor Ferdinand II leased to the Bavarian the now rulerless upper Palatinate, although in secret he was envious of the good fortune of this Wittelsbacher duke, and of his ever-widening influence in Germany.

Tilly, the League general, on the 6th of August 1623 dealt the brave partisan, duke Christian of Brunswick, a severe blow, at the city of Lohn in Münster;

A Retrospect.

and by this means deprived the adventurous Count Mansfield of the opportunity of further enterprises.

Then it was that king Christian IV of Denmark, who was at the same time duke of Holstein, was appointed commander in chief of the lower Saxony dukedoms and cities. In harmony with the duke of Brunswick and the count of Mansfield he offered new defiance to the emperor. Now lower Saxony became the seat of war, and while as Dullen says: "the individual rabid partisans passed through the German countries like destroying angels, with bloody swords in the glare of crackling flames, leaving ruins and the lamentations and curses of the people in their wake, the most powerful countries in Europe, Holland, England and France remained in the background, threatening the emperor."

In the latter country Cardinal Richelieu was at this time the influential minister. It was his main ambition to destroy the power of Hapsburg in Germany and Spain, and to place the control of both these Kingdoms into the hands of France.

Thus threatened on all sides, and unwilling again to put himself into the hands of the league and the arch-duke of Bavaria, the emperor determined to collect an army of his own. But for this both money and generals were wanting.

A Bohemian nobleman, Albrecht von Waldstein

or Wallenstein, also called the Friedlander on account of his large estate of Friedland in Bohemia, offered the emperor an army of 50,000 men. Naturally Ferdinand did not refuse this offer. At once Wallenstein's recruiting drum sounded through Germany, and in a short time the proffered army, composed of hirelings and servants of every clime and creed, gathered under the Friedlander's flag.

Wallenstein was the only man to regain for the emperor and the Catholic church its former prestige and power.

His very nature, his powerful figure, his princely bearing, his dark mysterious glance, commanded respect in the hearts of the troops, while the reports of his secret arts at once inspired dread and the certainty of victory.

He soon appeared on the field of battle, and at once attacked Count Mansfield on the bridge spanning the Elbe at Dessau. While he pursued him shortly after as far as Hungary, Tilly had the good fortune to defeat King Christian of Denmark at Lutter (6th of May 1626). One result of this victory was the subjection of lower Saxony to the imperial power.

Wallenstein now quickly appeared on the German coast, stationed himself in Mecklenburg, expelled the Lutheran dukes from the land, and as security for

A Retrospect.

his expenses in the war, he had the emperor bestow upon him both dukedoms.

The Friedlander now proudly and defiantly raised his head, he felt himself as high-born as the emperor, and directed and governed him as he pleased. He looked upon Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, as dangerous. To protect himself from him he desired to garrison Pomerania. For this purpose the strong town of Stralsund was of great importance. He demanded therefore of the citizens free passage for his army, and as they refused, threatened them with fire and the sword, only to meet with ridicule.

He besieged the city on the 13th of May 1628. Had it fallen into his hands the defenders would certainly have met a terrible fate. But the brave Stralsunders had sworn to fight to the last man, and courageously maintained the defense. They had a firm friend in the background. The king, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, who at this time was stationed on the Rhede at Dantzic in war with Poland, assisted them secretly with powder, lead, and even with soldiers. Wallenstein, becoming more and more determined, swore to take Stralsund even though it were chained to heaven.

He did not take it, however, but was obliged to retreat on the 3rd of August.

With his eyes always directed on Sweden he now

Gustavus Adolphus in Germany.

caused the emperor to conclude peace with the Danish king at Lubeck, and by sending a relief corps into Poland harassed Sweden in its hard struggle against this nation.

The emperor at this time, March, 1629, had already issued the previously mentioned Restitution edict. Imperial and league soldiers, scornfully called "Salvationists" by the people, carried out its tyrannical commands with infamous barbarity; primarily, however, only in South Germany, because the emperor needed the services of the dukes of Saxony and Brandenburg in order to secure for his son, Ferdinand, the royal crown of Rome.

In Augsburg this change of faith was enforced with swords on the 8th of August 1629. Here the Evangelical population lost its religious liberty; seven churches within the city and two outside; their gymnasium, which was immediately occupied by the Jesuits; their schools, hospitals and nurseries were given over to the Catholics. The children of Evangelical parents were forced into the churches, and compelled to become Catholics. All praying and singing was forbidden in Evangelical homes. The Protestants were excluded from the council; they were not allowed to marry without having heard mass. Without mass no apprentice could become master, and attendance at Catholic churches was demanded of all under penalty

A Retrospect.

of exile. This injustice was perpetrated under the pretext of restoring to the bishop of Eichstädt, the rights he had in Augsburg in the year 1548, without regard to the religious treaty of 1555.

The Jesuits soon stretched out their greedy hands toward certain cities of north Germany. Magdeburg stubbornly resisted and thereby, like Stralsund, acquired title to a civic crown.

Wallenstein's residence was at Güstrow in Mecklenburg. Here he conceived dark plans for the increase of his power, and the humiliation of Germany, while his unbridled soldiers scattered over lower Saxony and the coast of the Baltic sea, lived at the expense of the countries of friend and foe, and were guilty of all sorts of vandalism and crime.

Louder and louder the lamentations and complaints of the oppressed rang in the emperor's ear. Above all other German dukes it was the archduke, Max of Bavaria, who had long been jealous of Wallenstein's unlimited power in the empire, who now used this opportunity to cause Wallenstein's downfall.

In the Reichstag at Regensburg in the summer of 1630 the Friedlander's removal was decided on. The emperor Ferdinand protested solemnly against the consequences of this measure. He wanted to be innocent before God and man of the disaster that was certain to ensue. But the Bavarian pressed him hard,

Gustavus Adolphus in Germany.

referred with threats to the power of the league; and as Saxony and Brandenburg too insisted on the withdrawal of Wallenstein, the emperor finally signed the document. He was now again in the hands of the league and his son Ferdinand was not made king of Rome.

At this time Wallenstein occupied Memmingen with a rather strong division of troops. The news of his removal reached him here. Apparently indifferent to his defeat he withdrew to his Bohemian estates. In his stead the aged Tilly was made commander of the army of imperialists and leaguers, which still numbered about 70,000 men, after a part of it had been discharged, and another had gone over to the Swedes, who after landing in Germany took town after town in Pomerania, Mecklenburg and Brandenburg.

Although the emperor Ferdinand at the appearance of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany said: "There we've got one little enemy more," and the Jesuits were of the opinion that "this snow-king would soon melt in the sun of his imperial majesty," yet the further execution of the Restitution-edict was temporarily arrested.

We have meanwhile anticipated the course of our narrative, and will in the next chapter give an account of events omitted.

III.

In the Council of the Empire at Stockholm.

A few weeks after the conversation between the king and queen, which we reproduced in the first chapter, Gustavus Adolphus appointed a time for the diet.

The passionate desire to bring help and salvation to the oppressed Evangelicals in Germany grew stronger and more consuming; it absorbed his whole soul.

The king had previously taken his chancellor and friend Axel Oxenstjerna into his cabinet. The two had often had in mind an expedition to Germany, and discussed it, but never as yet fully and satisfactorily.

"I expect candor from you, Axel," said the king.

"Which I have never denied you," he answered.

"You know the question before us to-day. Speak."

"In consideration of our weak force and the strength of our enemy, I disapprove of an attack."

"Ha!" cried he king, starting from his chair, "Pomerania and the sea-coast are like bastions for Sweden! That is our security and our superiority over the emperor."

"But how shall such a mighty war be carried on? It will be impossible for Sweden to bear the enormous

expense alone. Of course I know that one can buy soldiers, but I know also how unreliable they are, and how prone to mutiny at the slightest provocation. The imperialists extort from all German states immense sums for the maintenance of their army; the soldiers live at the expense of the countries which they conquer. But we could never do that, since we shall leave Sweden only in order to liberate, and not to subjugate Germany. In my opinion it were more advisable to wait — and the time is not far distant — until the emperor attacks us.”

“Axel, Axel,” exclaimed the king, “you forget that the advantage is for the most part on the side of the aggressor, especially if one strides rapidly over the neck of the enemy, and does not allow him to catch his breath. ’Tis true the power of the emperor is superior to ours, but — that does not worry me. The number of the combatants does not decide the issue of a battle, but the weight of the cause for which one fights. And can there be a higher, holier one than freedom of spirit and conscience? Many of the countries over there are drained to the last drop of blood, but those least which I need most for my cause: the larger cities and the Free Cities. All Germany bristles with hatred and enmity against the Jesuits, the people will sacrifice their last drop of blood and make com-

mon cause with me, their deliverer, against a common enemy."

"Your majesty, I insist," said Axelstjerna openly and fearlessly, "that this expedition to Germany is the result rather of an inspired idea than of mature deliberation."

The king made no direct answer.

"No time is more propitious than the present," he then said. "We have concluded peace with Denmark, and a six years truce with Poland."

"But my lord and king," said Oxenstjerna, "what if the king of Denmark, who according to his own words has received more in the Lubecker treaty than he had ever expected, should in the absence of your majesty from Sweden, show himself grateful to the emperor? Christian IV is a restless, quarrelsome neighbor, and easily forgets the smaller interest in view of the larger."

"Not in this case, Axel," said the king firmly. "Our interests are mutual—to force the emperor from the Baltic and North sea."

"How about Poland?" asked Oxenstjerna doubtfully. "Does your majesty count so firmly on the truce with this country?"

"Poland," repeated the king, and thought for a moment. "Of course Poland could make use of our slightest misfortune and again cast a challenge at our

feet. And yet, the famine prevailing in Prussia will stay every enemy until harvest, and by that time the Lord in heaven will have vouchsafed us victory. The slightest advantage to our army in Germany is a defeat for all our enemies. Therefore let me hear nothing more of a defensive war. The sea is large and we would have an extensive coast-line to defend. If the enemy's fleet escaped us, or if we were defeated, it would be much more difficult to defend Sweden than to attack the enemy in his own country. Come, Axel, we will hear what our council thinks of the matter. But this let me tell you, there is no other peace for me except in the grave."

Thus they both entered the assembly hall of the council. Venerable, patriotic men: the brothers Magnus and Abraham Brahe, Carl Carlson, Nickolas Horn, John Skytte, Gabriel Gustersee, Peter Baner, John Sparr, Nicholas Flemming, Matthew Soop and others were here assembled.

The king spoke: "You will perhaps remember that I have often told you that the terrible war in Germany would not come to a close without Sweden being involved. You know the injury the German emperor has done us. England and France have offered me an alliance, and to-day the French ambassador will reach Stockholm. But before I take any steps, I consider it important to consult your opinion, in order that the

people may not complain against me if the results are not commensurate with their expectations. Two ways are open to us: either we quietly wait until we are attacked by the emperor, or we boldly attack him in Germany. Concerning this matter I should like your opinion."

The aged John Skytte, the former tutor of the king, spoke: "In this evidently long-drawn-out war your majesty stakes his monarchy; for the emperor and his Jesuits are tenacious."

The king answered: "All monarchies have passed from one generation to another. A monarchy does not consist of individuals but in laws."

Nicholas Horn said: "Your majesty's subjects would think it very singular that we have concluded peace with Denmark and Poland not to enjoy it but to be plunged into a new and much more extravagant war. Much dissatisfaction and discontent would prevail, if the outcome were unsuccessful."

"So weigh the matter carefully," the king urged, "that your children and children's children may not be able to reproach you."

Abraham Brahe said: "Your majesty must not depend altogether on the assistance of the Protestant princes. Demand of them on your arrival that they should show their colors and render you aid, and you

will find that the old innate respect for the emperor will surely deter them."

The somewhat hot-headed Claudius Horn thought: "If we conquer, however, without having had the aid of the princes of the Holy Roman Empire, so much the better for us; their countries will be a fine booty."

"O! O! Claudius Horn," rejoined the king smiling, "that you should think of the rich booty. If you had your way, you would certainly make quick work of these German armies. But that is not our plan, God forbid! For we do not advance merely to conquer and to oppress, but to bring help, and keep our friends true to the word of God."

"I know these gentlemen equally well," Matthew Soop now added. "They would like to have their fur washed, but dislike to see it wet. These people are very effeminate, raised in luxury; they have no soldierly mind, neither have they soldiers in their council; on the other hand they have more officers, scribes and jurists, who 'tis true, practice the Roman law, but who will not break the necks of the Roman flatterers and oppressors."

This twaddle was unbearable to the king; with difficulty he mastered his rising anger. Axel Oxenstjerna spoke for him:

"We have assembled here for an altogether dif-

In the Council of the Empire at Stockholm.

ferent purpose, than to occupy ourselves with such trifling. Earnestness and dignity should characterize our deliberations to-day more than ever before. The future and greatness of our fatherland are at stake."

"One war is apt to be succeeded by another," now said Peter Baner. "Your majesty cannot gain ground in Germany without making sure of the Elbe, Oder and Weser. This might complicate matters and give the Dutch, the Danes and even the English cause for grievance. The imperial field-m Marshals will try with all their power to render our passage over these rivers difficult. Where shall we raise the necessary soldiers? Taking for granted we found them, the revenues of our country would decrease in proportion. Foreign powers, particularly England and France, encourage this war, but what security has your majesty that they will not desert you if your cause does not seem to prosper?"

John Sparr, a venerable man with snow-white hair, who already in the time of king Carl IX had fostered the welfare of Sweden by word and deed, now rose from his chair and said: "I will not speak for or against war, our eyes are short-sighted, our councils null and void; Alpha and Omega are in God's hands. There is one thing, however, my lord and master that troubles me. You have spent nearly eighteen years in war, have exposed yourself to imminent danger.

You are a husband, father and sovereign! Is it anything but reasonable that you preserve yourself for your wife, your family and your subjects? Do not voluntarily challenge the enemy; do not tempt God, but trust Him. Truly you have higher duties at home; but if you are forced to war, then sacrifice everything!"

An approving look from the king rewarded the honest man. His gigantic figure towered boldly, majestically; from his eyes a noble fire shone.

"It is evident," said he, raising his voice, "that the emperor Ferdinand harbors an irreconcilable hatred against the Lutheran Swedes. Think you he will spare us after he has overthrown the Evangelicals in Germany? Austria is striving for a universal monarchy; only France, the Netherlands and Sweden can bar the way. The Restitution-edict is a powerful weapon against us. If the emperor and his Jesuits succeed in enforcing this edict, the Evangelical faith in Germany is lost, perhaps forever. But God forbid. The emperor has at times secretly, at times before the whole world, intrigued against us, he will surely advance as soon as he is secure in Germany. The time is near, it is best not to wait, but energetically to direct our bayonets against him; especially since we have always found this course leading us to success. If we do not enter Germany, the enemy will soon again

cast his eyes on Stralsund, and finally take it; and Stralsund is the key to the Baltic sea. And suppose Ferdinand should unite with us, Holstein would never remain a peaceful witness. She would send forth a mighty fleet and instead of fighting against the emperor we would have to fight the Amsterdam pepper-sacks, who are much more formidable at sea than the emperor is on land. The cry for help from the exiled princes of Mecklenburg, our cousins and friends; the wail of distress of Evangelical Germany comes over to us, — let us not close our ears in fear and trembling, but let us act like men and good Lutherans! And if our undertaking should fail so utterly, that our whole army perished, and not a single man returned to Sweden, the situation would then be no worse than it is at present: we would still have our ships to defend the sea, and our militia to protect the land.”

The king had scarcely ceased when a servant announced the French ambassador, Marquis Charnacé, who had just arrived. The king ordered him to be ushered in.

With French volubility he pictured to the king in rosiest hues the campaign in Germany.

“All hearts will greet your majesty, and look upon you as a deliverer. The German people are sick and tired of the unbearable government of the emperor; they long for the Swedish liberator. Victory

upon victory will follow your majesty's flag; the humiliation of the emperor is assured."

"To be candid, Marquis," said the king, smiling, "I do not imagine this undertaking so easy. Tilly and Wallenstein are tried warriors, and the emperor still has a large following. The people are swayed by traditions and sympathies for Austria, whose subjection might cause an enemy much trouble."

"My master the Christian king of France," said the Frenchman, "goes so far as to open up to your majesty the prospect of the Byzantine-Turkish empire of the orient, so you,"—

"Provided I renounce my victory and conquest in Germany," interrupted the king, "concede to another the place in the council of nations, which I secured by the greatest sacrifices, or, after I became too troublesome to the mediator behind the scenes."

The Marquis in his zeal took no notice of the objections of the king and continued: "You alone, worthy majesty, are the right man for these places; supported by the rich and powerful crown of France, which will remain favorably disposed to you under all circumstances, radiant with the glory which your virtues have gained for you, loved and adored by all the world, your majesty is equal to every undertaking."

The king finally declined these praises, and thanked the crown of France with quiet dignity for

the magnanimous offer to help him to great things. In conclusion he added: "To return to the attitude of Germany, the Marquis is hardly correctly informed. The archduke of Saxony for instance, boldly told one of my messengers, that if I came over to Germany he was resolved to unite his troops with those of the emperor in order to expel me, the stranger. I know also that Tilly, the old corporal, as he is called, has sworn that he only desired to live longer in order that he might be able to fight me to the death, and in so doing, to conquer or to die. Furthermore Wallenstein has threatened to drive me back with whips across the Baltic sea."

Charnacé made ingenious replies. Finally in the name of his monarch, Louis XIII, who, like his great predecessor, Henry IV, bent all efforts to crush the ascendancy of Hapsburg, he offered the king three tons of gold for the war with Germany.

An assenting murmur passed through the assembly. Enticing, however, as this offer was, and gladly as the king, under other circumstances, would have availed himself of it, he rejected it; for he would not combine a just cause with an unjust one; he would not in conjunction with a Catholic power, which had already often horribly persecuted her own dissenting subjects, hasten to the aid of the Evangelicals in Germany. He would not tie his hands and become the

tool of France to be cast aside at will. After he once appeared as victor in Germany he knew this alliance would be sought anew, but then he and not they would dictate the terms of peace.

The French ambassador was dismissed, the members of the council agreed with the king, and thus the bold Gustavus Adolphus, trusting to God and his sword, plunged into war without foreign assistance.

The diet, which Gustavus convened shortly after this council, concurred in his opinion; and though there were many among the people who were weak and fearful, who looked upon war with Germany as the ruin of Sweden, the daily-increasing enthusiasm of the country carried him away also. This war against the wanton encroachments of the Catholic Hapsburger was soon looked upon as a crusade. Preparations were rapidly begun. The army was strengthened and increased; transports were collected, the fleet was put in good condition, provisions and ammunition attended to, and as much money as possible raised within and without the country.

On the 20th of May 1630 the king entered the council chamber with the four year old princess, Christine, on his arm. He bade them and his native country, which he was never to see again, farewell. Like a man and christian who goes forward to death, he had ordered his house and appointed his daughter as

In the Council of the Empire at Stockholm.

successor, in case of his death. The assembly swore allegiance to him. With touching words he commended her and his wife to the council. A deep emotion stirred the members and even the king had tears in his eyes.

He then pictured in impressive manner how he had been forced into this war by the emperor Ferdinand II.

I call on God Almighty to be my witness, that I do not fight for mere gratification. The emperor oppresses and persecutes our German brothers of the faith. They stretch out their hands to us imploring help. They shall not call in vain. I realize the dangers which threaten me. The oftener I expose myself to them, the less hope there is that I will escape. 'Tis true, divine Providence has until now preserved me in a wonderful manner, but I must eventually die in the defense of my country."

Upon this he addressed himself to the counselors, and exhorted them to live worthy of their calling, and to the glory of God; he encouraged the nobility to bravery and manliness; the servants of the Church to harmony. They should ever by an incorruptible and pious conduct be an example to their congregations, preach the gospel, and guard against passion and vanity. He wished for the peasantry and citizens

the blessing of God upon the diligence of their hands, for their fields, gardens, houses and barns."

"So for all my subjects" said he with folded hands, "I raise my most heartfelt prayers to God. I say a hearty farewell in the hope that we shall see each other again here or in the heavenly and eternal home."

He was silent a moment, allowed his grief and that of his faithful followers to subside; then prayed aloud and with great reverence from the 90th Psalm:

"Return, O Lord, how long? and let it repent thee concerning Thy servants. O satisfy us early with Thy mercy, that we may rejoice and be glad all our days. Let thy work appear unto Thy servants, and Thy glory unto their children. And let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us: and establish Thou the work of our hands upon us; yea, the work of our hands establish Thou it."

It was a great hour never to be forgotten.

IV.

Gustavus Adolphus' Army, Departure From Sweden and Arrival in Germany.

The next morning the Swedish army had assembled on a meadow at Elfsnabben, where the fleet lay at anchor, ready for embarkation. Arms of various kinds were put on board, among them a number of light guns, which in the course of the war, rendered the Swedes excellent service.

The army which Gustavus Adolphus led to Germany consisted of 15,000 men: 92 companies of infantry and 16 of cavalry. Nevertheless it was a mere handful compared to the 130-140,000 men, which at the beginning of summer, before Wallenstein's dismissal, rallied around his flag and Tilly's.

And this mighty army relied on the revenues of a great kingdom, whose strength had often been taxed but not exhausted, while Sweden had in the long wars with its neighbors made great sacrifices.

An historian of the time writes of Germany:

"Germany lies between the Oder and the Maas, between the Vistula and the Aa, between the Baltic and the Adriatic seas, between the North Sea and the Alps. This glorious empire is of about equal length

and breadth and contains much grain, wine and fish. It is rich in mines of gold and silver and many varieties of metals, and excels all other countries in Europe. Nature has given the soil wells of salt water so that there is no want of salt. Germany also has merchandise, and beautiful rivers the more easily to transport it. The inhabitants cultivate the arts and intellectual pursuits. The Free Cities enjoy rich revenues, the provisions are inexhaustible. Germany is also powerful at sea: Emden, Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck, Rostock and other cities lying on the coast have many ships. In conclusion, the empire is so powerful it need fear no enemy if it will only stand united.

But it was then as often afterward disunited, and that was Gustavus Adolphus' principal weapon against the mighty head of the empire, Austria.

It might here be in place to say something about the Swedish war department.

The regiments of infantry as well as cavalry were inferior to those of the imperialists. A squadron consisted of two divisions, in each of which were 33 cavalry-men, in all then 66 men. The company of infantry numbered 144 men, including eighteen sergeants and six corporals, and the following officers: one captain, two lieutenants and one ensign. The lat-

ter carried the flag in battle. In order to engender in the common soldier more love for the sacred emblem, the ensign was never punished; he even had the right to intercede for culprits. Eight companies constituted a regiment, two regiments a brigade. It was the custom, in order to reduce the size of the regiments, to call for volunteers for dangerous undertakings. This custom prevented the destruction of whole regiments. In the battle formation of his army, it was Gustavus Adolphus' principle to make each individual soldier as effective as possible. Pikemen and musketeers were therefore drawn up only six deep. The former were massed closely in battle-array, man to man; in the case of the musketeers, on the contrary, there was between each squad, which consisted of four or five soldiers, a space of from 3 to 4 feet, through which the first file would retire, half to the right, half to the left; to allow them to reload and to make room for the firing of the next line.

The king's second very important principle was, that one weapon should support and aid another. For this purpose he ordered small divisions of musketeers alongside of the battalions of pikemen, and scattered them also among the cavalry, leaving empty spaces among the squadrons for the reception of 150 to 200 musketeers. Finally the first line of battle was supported by a second, which could come to the assist-

ance, in case any portion of the former was hard pressed and which could also defend the flanks.

An English historian said on this subject: "The battle-array of the Swedish king is like a well-built fort, able to meet the enemy from whatever side the attack comes. This excellent arrangement could only be overthrown by a sudden charge where the troops had not time to get in line." In like manner Gustavus Adolphus improved the cavalry. The attack was made by a squadron with 15 or 16 men in front, and four men deep. Man stood to man, line on line. Coming within range the riders galloped, and not until the white of the enemy's eye was visible would the first and second divisions discharge their pistols, which were then quickly thrown into the halter, and daggers produced. This latter was in the king's opinion the chief weapon: the pistol should only serve to make a break and facilitate the invasion. If such an attack miscarried, or, if the soldiers were pursued, then the musketeers were to advance, arrest the enemy, and crush them with their rifles and artillery which until then were concealed by the front.

In regard, finally, to the Swedish artillery, — with the German armies this had thus far been a most clumsy and unwieldy weapon, — Gustavus Adolphus reduced the size of the guns. He re-cast each piece, and his small cannons weighed scarcely a hundred

pounds; but as they became too easily heated, he kept them only until the year 1631. In their places he introduced the cannon invented by the Englishman, Hamilton, which was only four feet long and did not weigh more than 600 pounds. It discharged a ball weighing four pounds, with a load of $1\frac{1}{3}$ lbs. powder, was readily transported and formed the beginning of the flying artillery. Musketeers were drilled in gunning so that there was never a dearth of gunners. Besides he had, like the imperialists 24 to 28 pounders, only that these were loaded with cartridges. In the number of arms the Swedes excelled. The local mines furnished material in abundance. So the Swedes shot from 100 pieces in Breitenfeld, on the Oder from 200, and in the camp at Nuremberg 330 pieces held the enemy in check.

The outward appearance of the Swedes contrasted strongly with that of their opponents. They wore loose coats, lined with sheep-skin through the winter; over these collars of buffalo or elephant's skin. The officers had no decorations of orders, the various regiments were recognized by their colors. The cavalry wore helmets and cuirasses.

The articles of war, which were conceived and written by Gustavus Adolphus himself, and read for the first time to the assembled armies in Elfsnabben by Axel Oxenstjerna must not remain unmentioned

here, for they soon became the model for all European armies.

They began with these words: Idolators, sorcerers and deserters shall be tried according to divine and Swedish laws. The king, as God's plenipotentiary on earth, is the highest judge in war and in peace. This God-given power he exercises through the higher and lower courts. Crimes which affect life, rank or honor shall be tried under the open sky in the presence of the assembled army. Complaints concerning property will be tried in the tent. The punishments are decapitation, hanging of every tenth man by lot if a squadron of cavalry or infantry has fled during an engagement while they could still have used their swords. The remaining soldiers serve in this case without a flag, lie outside of the camp and are obliged to clean it until they have made good their shortcomings by bravery. Lesser punishments are: to ride wooden horses, imprisonment in irons, on bread and water, running the gauntlet, fines, dismissal of officers, expulsion in disgrace from camp, etc. The flogging of soldiers by superiors is forbidden. Useless and disreputable persons are not tolerated in camp. The chaplain conducts religious services every Sunday and delivers short sermons during the week if opportunity offers. Prayers morning and evening, etc.

The king maintained the friendliest relations with

all his soldiers, and permitted them to call him comrade and brother. He often invited the officers to his table. Bravery and excellence found his highest recognition; he did not ask for birth or station, the man alone counted. . . .

The whole court and a multitude of people had assembled on the meadow at Elfsnabben. On a plainly harnessed horse the king rode up and down the files of his soldiers; he had a friendly word for many a bearded man who had engaged in former marches with him. He also cheered the army officers and the sea-men with word and deed. From time to time he would ride to the state coach in which the queen sat with the young princess, Christine. He comforted the weeping wife with an assurance of a successful outcome of the undertaking and of a joyful return.

As the king was about to leave his wife before the embarkation of the army, his eyes fell on a man close by in peasant's dress. The king being somewhat near-sighted eyed him sharply, as the man with powerful arms forced his way out of the multitude.

"Well, is it you, Jacob Ericson?" cried the king astonished.

"It is I, your majesty," he answered.

"And you came the long distance from Igelstadt to see me once again?"

"God willing, it shall occur often, day after day,

my worthy lord and king; for my most heartfelt wish is that you should take me with you to Germany."

"Ericson," said the king, "you have grown older, and have a wife and children."

"I had them, but the Lord in heaven called them unto himself a short time ago, and I thought now I can again devote my arm and heart to my most gracious king."

"Your arm," said the king, hesitatingly, "no, for you have grown eighteen years older since then; but your heart, — yes, that I need; your love and your fidelity!"

The queen approached the group.

"Do you recognize this man?" the king asked.

"Whom, your saviour the brave Jacob Ericson?"

"He begs to accompany me to Germany."

"You certainly will not deny this honest man his wish?"

"No, never!" exclaimed the king. "You shall go Ericson. You have already done me a service on the treacherous Widjo sea, who knows whether you will not again find opportunity, even if it were the last service of closing the eyes of your dying king?"

"God in mercy forbid!" said the queen.

"You shall not accompany me as a soldier," said the king quickly, "but as a body-guard. Will you?"

"I will, my lord and king," exclaimed the loyal

Gustavus Adolphus' Army, Departure, Etc.

Ericson, delighted. "I can ride as well as any one, and to serve you, and if necessary protect you, will be my most sacred duty."

"Make haste, then, Ericson," said the king, "they will soon weigh anchor!"

"I am ready, your royal majesty" he answered. Waving his hat he shouted with resounding voice: "Long live Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden!" and the entire multitude joined enthusiastically.

The king expressed his thanks, called a farewell to all, and again embraced his wife and child.

As he was about to go aboard, a sloop landed with three deputies from the duke Bogislaw.

"What brings you?" asked the king.

"The fervent request of our master," one spoke up "that your majesty do not land on the coast of Pomerania. Our country, which has already suffered so much, would then again become the seat of war."

"Away with these petty considerations" roared the king, "and remember that the cause of the gospel which your people as well as I confess is here at stake. Even if Wallenstein has robbed you of much, and in your country acted cruelly, there will still be found for my tired soldiers a protecting roof and a litter of straw. But tell your master that I come to Germany not as a conqueror or enemy but as saviour and friend. It remains for him to choose."

Gustavus Adolphus in Germany.

With these words the embassy was dismissed.

The same afternoon the army embarked. Salutes thundered from aboard and from the harbor. The entire fleet consisted of 28 large and small vessels, several merchantmen, besides various little flat-bottomed boats useful for landing and for the navigation of streams, each with three fieldpieces on board.

The fleet had scarcely reached mid-sea, when a continuous south-west wind delayed the voyage, and the progress was so slow and difficult that fresh provisions had to be obtained from the nearest sea-coast cities.

Finally on the 24th of June the bold deliverer from Sweden arrived; exactly on the day on which 100 years before the Evangelical dukes had handed the German emperor, Carl V, the Augsburg confession of faith. He came to restore its honor and at the point of the sword if necessary, to save freedom of faith and of conscience for Germany, which since that time had groaned under heavy oppression. On the following day during a severe thunderstorm the troops disembarked on the island Usedom.

The king was first to land. He sank upon his knees and prayed aloud, folding his hands reverently above his head.

“O God, God, who rulest heaven and earth, the wind and the waves, how shall I thank Thee that Thou

hast so mercifully protected me during this dangerous voyage. O, I thank Thee from my innermost heart, and pray Thee to bestow Thy grace and Thy blessing upon this enterprise, which I undertake not for my aggrandisement, but alone for Thy glory, for the defense of Thy oppressed Church, and the succor of all believers. Thou, Lord, who provest hearts and souls, knowest the uprightness of my purpose. Bless me, bless me and mine now and forever. Amen."

The sight of the king in prayer greatly affected the generals and officers surrounding him. Many wept with emotion. When the king observed this, he said: "Weep not, my friends, but pray. The more prayers the more victories. The most pious soldier is always the bravest; he knows his cause rests with God and that He will prosper it."

Upon this he took a spade and threw up some earth for a bulwark. He wanted to set his soldiers a good example. They worked faithfully; in another day the entire army was not only disembarked but entrenched. The enemy was not in sight; it had retreated at the approach of the Swedes, but not before burning down villages and farm-buildings.

The king's daily command was: "No soldier shall, under pain of death, raze or burn a house, insult a citizen or peasant or rob him of his goods."

V.

Progress in Germany.

From Usedom to Stettin, the capital of Pomerania, the way lay open to the king. It was imperative to seize this place before the imperialists. A few days later the king appeared before the city. The Pomeranian Colonel von Damitz sent a drummer into the Swedish camp, to say to the king that if he approached any nearer his army would be fired upon.

The king answered, smiling: "I also carry cannon, and who knows which shoot the better. Moreover I am not accustomed," he added, with dignity "to treat of such weighty matters with a drummer. Tell your colonel to come in person to my camp."

Not long after he appeared. He begged, as had the Pomeranian ambassadors at Elfsnabben, for neutrality.

"It will be impossible to grant it" was the king's answer. "I demand a conference with the duke of Pomerania himself."

Before night set in, the latter was on his way to the Swedish camp with a numerous retinue.

The frightful picture of the imperial anger filled this little German duke's soul. And yet how could he

be made to suffer any more than he now suffered? For months 30,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry had been encamped in Pomerania and had exhausted it shamefully.

Gustavus Adolphus received the frightened old duke graciously.

"My enterprises," said he, "are not against you, cousin, but against our common enemy. I did not leave Sweden to appropriate to myself another's property, but to make secure the Evangelical religion, the liberty of the German empire and peace of conscience. Acknowledge the hand of God, which within a few days put me in possession of the largest and most important part of Pomerania. Do not longer delay to make my cause yours."

Duke Bogislaw, a man who loved peace and quiet, wriggled and writhed with smooth words, and would come to no conclusion. The king became impatient and vehement. "Who is not for me is against me," he cried. "Say yes or no!"

"Well then yes, in God's name," came the answer.

An hour later the Swedish army entered Stettin. The soldiers were not quartered in houses, but in tents in the streets. The king himself slept on board one of the boats in the Oder, "for," said he, "a mantle lined with fur for the generals and straw for the sol-

diers are excellent beds for the subjects of a king, who himself would rather sleep in a hammock."

Stettin was now quickly fortified against every attack on land or sea. The king well understood how to arouse the enthusiasm of the workers at the fortifications. Those who would, in one day, collect and deliver a certain number of wagons full of earth, would receive a can of Dantziger beer. Within four days Stettin was encircled with a girdle of breastworks, which long served as a model. The Swedish army now daily grew stronger. Lieutenant Leslie joined it with two regiments from Stralsund, military forces from Prussia arrived, also 700 newly acquired Scottish troops, besides the experienced soldiers which once served under Mansfield, the Bruswicker and the Danish king; later many of Wallenstein's army thronged in, although not to the advantage of the morality and discipline of those under Gustavus Adolphus' flag.

Rapid progress was made. Damm and Stargard were taken, (the latter from the Pomeranians) and an attack on Garz attempted. The king led this one himself; he was in danger of being brutally murdered by an assassin, a former imperial lieutenant by name of Quintin, who had won the king's confidence. An Italian named Baptiste was in league with Quintin. Before his execution he confessed: "It has long been

my purpose to kill the king, but my heart always failed me, and when my hand grasped my pistol it suddenly became paralyzed so that I could never carry out such an intention. —” Quintin received his deserts at Leipzig. Here he was found torn to pieces by a ball from a Swedish cannon.

Garz remained temporarily in the possession of the imperialists; the king, however, prepared an expedition against Mecklenburg. By way of Dammgarten and Ribnitz he pressed over the border. It was a daring move, as the imperialists under field marshal Conti beleaguered Greifswald and Wolgast. It is true, this place was soon taken by general Kniphausen, but in the little town of Pasewalk a Swedish detachment suffered a terrible defeat. Scarcely had they triumphantly entered here when they were attacked by 3,000 soldiers, who rapidly followed them under Colonel Götz. A horrible street fight ensued: all the Swedes, nearly 200 men, were cut down with swords, and such atrocities committed upon the Lutheran inhabitants as would beggar description, and belong to the most outrageous recorded during the entire thirty years war.

Although Gustavus Adolphus constantly achieved victories against Mecklenburg, he hastened with the larger part of his army back to Stettin, which the imperialists threatened. From here he conducted the

so-called small war. Besides Greifswald and Kolberg, — whose hour had also about struck — there was at the end of the year 1630 not a single Pomeranian city in the hands of the imperialists; the Swedes even held part of the Neumarkt in siege.

Meanwhile the Margrave Christian William, who had been expelled by the Danish king from his Lutheran archbishopric at Magdeburg, and had been put under the ban by the emperor, had returned from Brandenburg to Magdeburg. This city soon became the refuge of dispersed troops; and since the citizens had successfully defended Magdeburg against Wallenstein's whole army, they were in a war-like mood and unanimously decided to defend their liberty and privileges against every other enemy. Gustavus Adolphus had sent Colonel Dietrich von Falkenburg, a man prudent and experienced in war, to this city.

Tilly on his way to lower Saxony came upon defiant Magdeburg. He began to besiege it in the fall of 1630. He meant that it should serve him as a firm bulwark against the Swedes. Imploring calls soon came to the king to assist this oppressed fortress with his entire army. Gustavus Adolphus could only have done this had he sacrificed his position in Pomerania and on the Oder. On account of the uncertainty and timidity of the Evangelical princes he could not afford to do this.

Leaving Pappenheim in front of Magdeburg, Tilly undertook a march to Pomerania. The victories of the Swedes gave him no peace. Fortune favored him; he soon recaptured Brandenburg. Cruelties such as had been exercised in Pasewalk, and were about to be inflicted on the besieged Magdeburg, were perpetrated here also by the soldiers of the emperor Ferdinand, the patron and protector of the entire German nation. In spite of their petitions the garrison received no quarter. Of 2,000 men all but about 60, who had concealed themselves in the vilest corners of the houses, were massacred. Satiated with revenge, Tilly hastened back to Magdeburg. The Swedes now took Frankfurt on the Oder by storm. The king himself led the scaling party, but could not prevent his soldiers from exercising the right of retaliation for New-Brandenburg. "New-Brandenburg quarter!" cried the victor to the vanquished. Swords and lances played fearful havoc in the streets, houses and courts. Of 7,000 Imperialists about 1,800 escaped. Lieutenant Auer, a German who hoisted the first Swedish flag on the stormed wall, received from the king 1,000 dollars and was made captain in the royal guards.

Let us hear how one of the colonels, the Scotsman Monro speaks of Gustavus. "Every one serves such a chief joyfully. It is his custom to be first and last in danger. He has the love of his officers; under his

guidance they consider themselves invincible. He never hesitates to have carried out what he has once commanded. He does not change his orders, makes no apologies for such measures as the necessities of war demand."

We must add here that Gustavus Adolphus in 1631 at Bärnevalde in Neumarkt, where his headquarters were, concluded the long proffered and almost compulsory alliance with the crown of France for a period of six years. The king was to receive for the past year 12,000 dollars, thereafter, however, annually 400,000, in consideration of which he pledged himself to furnish 30,000 infantry and 16,000 cavalry; not to interfere with the Catholic religion in the conquered countries and cities, and to grant the league neutrality upon demand.

This proves that France was only bent on the humiliation of the emperor, Ferdinand; in all other respects the purposes of the two partners differed widely.

This money was very acceptable to Gustavus Adolphus. In Pomerania there was a dearth of everything. Because the soldiers finally began to mutiny, on account of the money due them, the king, as one historian puts it "had virtually to pay court to them." In spite of all he was hopeful for the future. "Those whose lives will be spared will witness my success,"

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he wrote to Oxenstjerna. At another time he wrote: "My cause rests in God's hands, and I console myself in this world with the firm hope of salvation in the next."

VI.

The Fall of Madgeburg.

The Swedish king had expected that the Evangelical princes and cities of Germany would at once make common cause with him. At first this hope was not realized as we perceived in Pomerania. The elector of Saxony did not wish to take arms against his emperor. At a convention held in Leipzig, on the other hand, voices were raised advocating war. For instance the duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar spoke fervently in favor of a strict alliance of all Evangelical dukes and cities.

"Life and property we must risk," said he, "in order that the oppressed political and spiritual liberty of Germany may be protected. The constant appeals to the emperor and the Catholic princes avail us nothing. The time has come to open our eyes and close our fists."

The elector of Saxony knew how to suppress such ardor.

"All due respect to your suggestion, cousin," he answered. "Yet the formation of a strict alliance is contrary to the constitution of the empire, and let us not desert the ground of law. Not until the emperor

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rejects all propositions and the Catholic League refuses further negotiations, can we proceed to general arming."

After a session of twenty days the convention at Leipzig adjourned.

The king's ambassador, Chemnitz, came to Leipzig. His proposition to the elector John George was in effect, that he should openly declare against the emperor, and if he did not wish to do this, he should at least support Sweden with money, favor their arms, and refuse the imperialists refuge, money and recruiting stations. Chemnitz spoke earnestly and urgently, but in vain. A mere semblance of treason against the emperor was for John George an unbearable thought; but a compact with the Swedes an utter abomination. The ambassador was more successful with the lesser German electors, for Weimar, Cassel and Lüneburg declared for Gustavus Adolphus.

Meanwhile the latter without any assistance had advanced ever nearer to the Mark of Brandenburg. He was not, however, able to render the heavily oppressed Magdeburg any help; for in order to do so he would first be obliged to have possession of two Brandenburg fortresses, Kuerstrin and Spandau in order to protect his rear. The elector, George William, a weak regent and timid man, strangely influenced by his Catholic minister, Schwarzenburg, was

willing, under certain conditions, to open to him Kuerstrin, but Spandau never.

Thus Gustavus Adolphus at the head of his army was forced to negotiate with his brother-in-law. With ten regiments of infantry, the entire cavalry and an adequate artillery he appeared at the end of April 1631 in Copenick near Berlin. Field-marshal Gustavus van Horn was ordered to Berlin. He was given the commission to insist on an immediate delivery of Kuestrin and Spandau, and to inform the elector that both places should be returned to him as soon as the king had relieved Magdeburg.

But Horn accomplished nothing and the danger to Magdeburg increased from day to day.

Gustavus Adolphus now demanded a personal interview with George William. This took place on the 3rd of May in a summer-house before the gates of Berlin, and on the part of the elector was conducted very ceremoniously.

The king said: "I forced the Imperialists to abandon the greater part of New Brandenburg territory; I will also prevent their return in future. I should hold this service worthy of your recognition. My soldiers will observe the strictest discipline, and not cause the inhabitants of the Mark any such miseries as they experienced in full measure from the Imperialists. But if Magdeburg is conquered, everything is

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lost! The enemy will return with renewed fury to the Mark, and Tilly will carry the war there."

In reply to all these true words the elector only expressed the wish, that the king would grant him a short respite in order to get the opinion of his counsellors.

In a short time he returned with the declaration that it was impossible to accede to the king's demands.

Gustavus Adolphus did not longer hesitate. With 1,000 musketeers he entered Berlin. He was about to use force. Only through the mediation of the elector's wife and her mother, Louise Juliane of the Palatinate, were negotiations begun anew on the following day.

The king expressed himself to several Brandenburger officers as follows: "I cannot think ill of the elector for hesitating in his resolve; certain it is that I ask of him serious and grave things. I do not ask it for myself, but for the benefit of the elector, his country and its people, yes, even for all Christendom."

To the Duke John Albrecht of Mecklenburg he said aloud so that all the bystanders heard him: "My course leads to Magdeburg, to take possession of that town, not for my advantage, but for that of the Evangelicals. If no one will stand by me, I will retreat, clear myself of all reproaches, come to terms with the emperor and retire to Stockholm. I know the emperor

will make an agreement if I desire it. But you will reap the result of your negligence, for if Magdeburg is lost, beware of the consequences!"

To the Brandenburger ambassador von Wilmersdorf, who was also opposed to the surrender of the fortress and the alliance with Sweden, which could not be concluded without embarrassing the honor and faithfulness due to the emperor, the king said: "You will be honored by losing your land and your people. The imperialists will keep faith with you as they have ever kept their capitulations!"

When Wilmersdorf said: "We must keep in mind the future and remember how everything will be disturbed if the enterprise fail," the king responded quickly: "That will come to pass anyway, though you remain inactive; it would have transpired already had I not come over from Sweden. Tell your master he shall do as I do and trust the outcome of the matter to God. I have not lain in bed for fourteen weeks; I too would like to be relieved of care and remain at home in peace, if I considered nothing else."

When the ambassador again referred to the fact that his electoral highness would rather remain neutral, the king burst out: "What is neutrality? Do you know? Chaff which the wind takes up and scatters. I will have none of it."

Late in the evening of this day the agreement

The Fall of Magdeburg.

between Gustavus Adolphus and the elector George William of Brandenburg concerning the fortress was consummated. On the 6th of May several Swedish regiments occupied Spandau and swore allegiance to the elector. In Kuestrin the Brandenburger garrison was retained, but was obliged to take the oath of allegiance to the king of Sweden.

Immediately after the taking of Spandau by the Swedes, the imperialists in Brandenburg, Havelberg and Rathenow retired to Magdeburg. Gustavus Adolphus advanced from Berlin to Potsdam, in order to relieve this heavily oppressed city. From here he endeavored to win the elector of Saxony to his cause, and demanded that he proceed with his military forces along the west bank of the Elbe as far as Dessau and there join the Swedish forces approaching on the east bank. If he did not care to do this, he should at least relinquish to the Swedish king the fortress at Wittemberg.

The answer of the elector of Saxony, which at the king's request was shortly delivered at Saarmund, was negative. It contained these words: "It is impossible for me to take measures contrary to my duty as a German elector. The surrender of Wittemberg would transfer the war to the electorate of Saxony, and plunge my country and my people into heavy misfortune."

The king was very indignant, nay angry at such conduct in an evangelical prince. "These people are determined to rush to their doom," he exclaimed. "Well, so be it! I will retire to Pomerania and wait until all these wise politicians stand at the precipice of ruin and are forced to call on me for help. But Magdeburg will go to destruction and with it the last vestige of German liberty!"

This soon happened; a day later on the 10th of May 1641 a dreadful fate overtook the city.

Tilly and Pappenheim besieged the city with 30,000 men. Toward the end of March the condition of the inhabitants became very precarious. They were driven from their fortifications and finally from their suburbs. The indefatigable Falkenburg saw the storm approach. He did his duty to the extent of his ability.

In the early part of May Pappenheim erected three batteries in the ruins of Neustadt. Five others were raised at three opposite points. Tilly ordered the inhabitants to surrender, but met with a refusal. The Magdeburgers hoped for speedy relief from the Swedes near by. Tilly also feared the approaching enemy: he acted quickly. On the 8th and 9th of May he bombarded the city. Pappenheim succeeded in gaining and holding the trench. He prepared for an attack. During the night from the 9th to the 10th of

The Fall of Magdeburg.

May, Tilly removed several heavy guns from his fortifications. His plan really was to give up the siege. But Pappenheim differed from him and prevailed. The citizens, reassured by the withdrawal of the guns, had for the greater part returned to their homes, when suddenly at seven o'clock the bombarding began from all sides. Bravely as the terrified Magdeburgers and the courageous soldiers of the administrator fought, they soon succumbed to the superior forces: through every gate, breach and opening the savage troops of Tilly and Pappenheim rushed into the city, like the swelling waves of the sea, which has broken its dykes. A fearful carnage began; neither age nor sex was spared; swords, lances, bullets and flames devastated frightfully. No place was safe, no sanctuary protected; with brutal lust and fiendish glee the conquerors raged and ravaged.

"The Magdeburger marriage" the imperial and league soldiers called this day: they there were wedded to the shame and disgrace, and to the curse of contemporaries and posterity! Officers of the army, moved by the boundless misery of the people, begged Tilly to restrain by an authoritative decree the reckless soldiers from further torturing, plundering and murdering. "Come again after an hour," he answered, "the soldier must be recompensed for his pains and danger." Pappenheim wrote to the emperor at

Vienna: "Since the fall of Troy and Jerusalem no greater victory has ever been won. My only regret is that your imperial ladies did not witness all, in order to bestow upon me a knight's reward.

Within a few hours the flourishing city of Magdeburg lay in ashes; only the tower and cathedral remained, like threatening fingers raised as if to swear that the surviving generation would wreak vengeance for this wanton outrage. Only 3,000 of the 33,000 inhabitants were spared; among these was the administrator Margrave Christian William of Brandenburg, who was carried a prisoner to Vienna. Falkenburg fell with honor early in the street-fights.

On the 13th of May, Tilly entered the smouldering and gory ruins. His frightful victory was celebrated by mass in the cathedral.

Later historians pronounce Tilly innocent of the serious charge of having so ruthlessly destroyed Magdeburg, and cast the burden of the crime on the fiery, zealous and fanatical Pappenheim. But Tilly was chief while the former was only subordinate. His subsequent fate proves his consciousness of guilt. After Magdeburg's fall he achieved no material victories; the hero of more than twenty battles was doomed henceforth to succumb to the enemy; the curse of his misdeeds at Magdeburg had banished fortune from him forever.

The Fall of Magdeburg.

A cry of distress rang through Protestant Germany at the news of Magdeburg's fall and frightful devastation. Occasionally a malevolent person would ascribe the blame for this terrible catastrophe to Gustavus Adolphus. In defense of himself he issued a manifesto in which he fearlessly designated the unreliability of the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg as the cause of this great calamity.

Meanwhile the king's forces had wrested Mecklenburg from the imperialists. The king himself later in August brought back the old dukes to the capital of the country, Güstrow, amid great festivities; and gained in them faithful allies. The city of Greifswald was conquered by the Swedish general Tott.

Gustavus Adolphus after the fall of Magdeburg had withdrawn from the town of Saarmund, which was under the protection of Spandau. Now that Magdeburg was ruined the elector of Brandenburg appeared and demanded, in view of the agreement concluded between the king and himself in May, the restoration of Spandau.

Gustavus Adolphus exhausted all means to conciliate his brother-in-law. Nothing availed, all his good words were in vain. Finally he became angry. "Well and good" he exclaimed to the negotiator, "early tomorrow Spandau shall be evacuated by my

troops, but I demand the return of all my papers. My friendship with Brandenburg is hereby terminated."

At once the entire Swedish army marched toward Berlin. It was placed in line of battle before the gates of the capital, all the artillery was loaded, hauled to the front, and directed against the electoral castle.

Only when he found himself in this extremely dangerous position, did the elector change his mind. Not only was Spandau relinquished to the king during the entire continuation of the war, but an alliance offensive and defensive was concluded. Brandenburg obligated itself to pay a monthly military tax of 30,000 dollars.

VII.

The Encampment on the Elbe and the Alliance With Saxony.

Tilly marched from the Magdeburg ruins to Erfurt. From this place he could cut off the landgrave of Hesse from Gustavus Adolphus. Nevertheless he only tarried a short time. In order to give his troops better resources he went to Muhlhausen and later threatened Cassel. The news of Gustavus Adolphus' approach induced him to adopt other measures.

At the end of June we find the king at Brandenburg. The entire eastern shore of the Elbe as far as Magdeburg was in his power; it was now his purpose to gain the western shore during Tilly's absence. He crossed the river at Jericho and Tangermunde on pontoons built with greatest dispatch. At the latter town he had occasion to meet Pappenheim for the first time. He forced him, after a short fight, to abandon his position on the western bank. He then took possession of the famous fortress at Werben, at that time one of the strongest in all Germany.

Recalled by Pappenheim's courier Tilly also marched thither.

Gustavus Adolphus soon convinced him that he

was prepared not only for resistance, but for an attack. In three divisions the Swedes made a night attack upon the enemy's flank. General Bandissin overthrew Montecuculi's riders at Burgstall the king himself the Bernstein regiment at Reindorf, and the Rhine-grave surprised Holk's dragoons with a violent attack at the village of Angern. This attack cost Tilly a thousand men and two cannon. Harassed day and night by the Swedish cavalry, he hastened to Werben, in order to persuade his far weaker enemy to engage in an open battle. But Gustavus Adolphus remained quietly in his fortifications; he cherished other plans, of which we shall presently hear. Smaller engagements occurred daily. While the king shrewdly opened battle in front of Werben, Swedish skirmishers went to the east shore of the Elbe, and appearing in the rear of the enemy, intercepted the convoys, which came from Halberstadt, Quedlinburg and other directions. Within a radius of eight miles food was not attainable for Tilly's numerous cavalry. Bread too was wanting, and even water, so indispensable during the oppressive heat. Tilly soon came to the conclusion that he was not strong enough to force the king from his secure position. Under the circumstances he considered it advisable to withdraw. On the 19th of July, early morning he broke camp; he first withdrew to Tangermund, where he thoroughly intrenched himself

The Encampment on the Elbe, Etc.

in order to be secure against the Swedes. Hunger drove him from here by the middle of August. As he dared not go to the east shore of the Elbe, he returned to the neighborhood of Magdeburg, whence he marched two months previously with such high hopes. The withdrawal of Tilly with his purpose unaccomplished was the first result of the excellent position of the king at Werben; the second was the already mentioned re-instatement of the dukes of Mecklenburg; and the third, Sweden's treaty with the landgrave of Hessen-Cassel.

Meanwhile the king received re-inforcements: from Sweden itself there came 2,000 men, and the Englishman Hamilton came to his aid with 6,000 more.

These events induced Tilly to turn his eyes to the flourishing fields of Saxony, which until now had escaped the long destructive wars. He had no other resource to enable him to maintain his position in middle Germany; he was cut off from the lower Elbe by the king; from Franken, Westphalia and the Rhine by the dukes of Hessen and Weimar; from Silesia by the devastated Mark of Brandenburg and the British Hamilton whom the king had sent thither; and from the hereditary estates of Austria by the neutral elector of Saxony.

It was necessary for him, with the consent of the emperor to make an end to this neutrality.

Gustavus Adolphus had anticipated this move; for this reason he had until now waged no battle. Pressed by Tilly, the elector of Saxony would be obliged to unite his forces with the king's.

Tilly now hastened from Magdeburg, where he had made the necessary repairs in the fortifications, to Eisleben. From here he dispatched several ambassadors to Merseberg, the elector's court residence. They were instructed to tell him to open his country to the imperialists, to join Tilly against the Swedes or to expect to be treated as an enemy.

The elector, as was his wont, received the ambassadors graciously, and entertained them sumptuously at his table. But as the dessert was served he said to them: "I plainly see that the reserved Saxon tid-bit is to be devoured. But beware, gentlemen, that you do not spoil your teeth, for it is likely to contain all kinds of hard nuts, which are difficult to crack."

The following day he announced boldly that unless he wished his country devastated he could not enter into a treaty with the emperor.

Shortly after, — the elector had scarcely repaired to his army — Pappenheim advanced with fire and sword into the neighborhood of Merseberg. On the 30th of August Tilly appeared before Leipzig with his entire army. He bombarded it, the suburbs were devoured by flames and the city capitulated in a dis-

graceful manner when it might have resisted. The capitulation was concluded in the grave-digger's house, which alone had escaped the flames. Horror overcame Tilly when he saw the death heads and skeletons, scythes and hour-glasses pictured on the walls.

At the news of Leipzig's surrender, the Saxon army marched hastily under the ramparts of Torgau. From here the hardpressed elector petitioned help from Gustavus Adolphus, whose headquarters were in Brandenburg. The Saxon field-marshal von Arnim came thither. The king received him very coldly, because he had formerly by his counsels greatly injured the cause of Sweden.

Gustavus Adolphus shrugged his shoulders and said: "I regret the fate of the elector, but it is his own fault. Had he joined me in the spring, Saxony would never have seen an enemy in its country, and unfortunate Magdeburg would still be standing. This disaster is the natural consequence of the vacillating policy of your master. Now that his neck is endangered, he seeks my help; but I am not minded, for the sake of the elector of Saxony, to plunge myself and my faithful allies into disaster."

The king strode restlessly back and forth through the room. Arnim tried to appease him with smooth words.

"Merely talk," stormed the king; "I understand that."

"Who will vouch for the fidelity of a prince whose highest officers enjoy the imperial favor, and who would himself desert me again as soon as Tilly's position became more promising?"

Arnim exerted his eloquence to influence him favorably toward Saxony.

The king finally closed the interview; Arnim withdrew; with fleet horses he hastened to Torgau — only to reappear in Brandenburg.

After a prolonged waiting, the king again admitted him; Saxony of all countries had treated him most shabbily.

In the most flattering manner Arnim said: "My master, in view of the recent transactions does not in the least condemn the precautions which your majesty takes for future protection. But I beg your majesty earnestly to state the conditions which you exact from my master. He is ready to furnish all possible securities."

The king still hesitated; Arnim appealed to his magnanimity, saying the king surely would not allow a protestant prince whose country was the cradle of the Reformation, to plead in vain for help and protection.

"Very well," said the king, apparently yielding,

and approaching Arnim, "I demand that the elector evacuate Wittenberg, give me the crown-prince as a hostage, banish without delay the traitors from his secret council" — he waited a moment, his eyes fixed on Arnim, who grew hot — "pay my army quarterly wages; and conclude with me an offensive and defensive alliance."

Arnim's authority did not extend so far as to accede to these demands. He hastened to Torgau.

When he communicated them to the elector, the latter was highly elated: "Not only shall Wittenberg and Torgau but all Saxony be open to the king of Sweden, I will give myself and mine as hostages, if he demand it. The king shall name the traitors, I will immediately dismiss them. With pleasure will I pay the stipulated wages, and sacrifice my life and possessions to the oppressed Evangelical cause."

When Arnim delivered this answer to the king, it almost embarrassed him. With great friendliness he said: "Confidence begets confidence. Let the past be forgiven and forgotten. I will waive all conditions, and only desire for my army the quarterly wages."

The king broke camp with his army. His way led over Wittenberg. As he crossed the bridge over the Elbe here, the students greeted him with thundering cheers.

In the small Saxon town of Kemberg the king

took a day of rest. He had scarcely reached his quarters, when a multitude of people assembled at his windows. When he questioned the provost of the place, Jeremiah Spiegel, who happened to be with him, about the cause of this crowd, the latter answered: "The people would like to see the great king of Sweden." He quickly left the room and, appearing in the street, called to the crowd: "Dear children, here you see a great sinner of Sweden, whom artless people call the great king of Sweden. God forgive them." . . .

From Kemberg the king's path led to Duben on the Mulde. Here both armies united on the 5th of September in a body of 40,000 men. The rejoicing was great. Two days later Tilly's fortune at arms and emperor Ferdinand's superiority were things of the past.

VIII.

The Battle of Breitenfeld.

On the morning of the 7th of September, 1631, the king convened the Swedish and Saxon generals in his headquarters at Wolkau. The electors of Brandenburg and Saxony also appeared.

The king emphasized the fact that they had before them a mighty and powerful enemy; an enemy whose flag had often led to victory; but all previous conquests could in a few hours be wrested from him if they stood courageously united. Magdeburg is to be revenged; the true faith protected; and he doubted not that the Lord whose strong arm had heretofore shielded him would again prove faithful and strong. The enemy's camp, loaded with rich booty, was before Leipzig, and with a fortunate turn of affairs the richest section of Germany would be open to them, and they would be rewarded for their bravery, their efforts and their hardships.

When the leaders communicated these words of the king to their soldiers a prolonged rejoicing ensued. The courage of the army was heightened particularly by the hope of finally bringing Tilly, the old corporal, the hated destroyer of Magdeburg, to account. Many

wonderful tales of Tilly's waning power were indulged in.

The chroniclers report that on the 18th and 19th of June 1631 terrible miraculous signs were observed in Ashersleben. Two armies engaged in violent fighting were visible in a clear sky. The one came out of noonday, the other from midnight and — the one out of midnight remained victor. A man in long robes, with bow and arrow shot the leader who had come from the army out of the noonday. Also: In the little town of Sonnenwalde in Lausitz a violent shooting and cannonading was heard as if muskets and guns had been discharged. In the direction of the noon-day sun the noise finally ceased.

Further: During a severe thunderstorm at Wittenberg in the night between the 20th and 21st of June on the great parapet on the ramparts a rider with a large black dog had attacked the sentry, whereupon the latter had cried out undismayed: "Who goes there?" — Answer: The Watch. The soldier asked: "Rider on duty?" when a mocking laugh ensued. As this rider after an hour returned, exactly on the stroke of twelve, the sentinel distinctly recognized the figure of Count Tilly, mounted headless on his horse.

The aged Tilly, as late as the evening of the 6th, was determined not to give battle; the younger com-

The Battle at Breitenfeld.

manders, especially Pappenheim disagreed. He considered Tilly's caution senility, his hesitation fear.

Early on the 7th of September the Swedish-Saxon army lined up in battle array before Wolkau. Tilly approached from Etruria.

On the march against the enemy Gustavus Adolphus gave his cavalry-men, who were mostly mounted on small, weak horses, good advice. Said he, "When you engage the imperialists, who ride heavy stallions, and you find yourselves unable, on account of their armor, to reach their ribs, strike for the horses, and forcing your dagger in deep rip the wound wide open; then man and beast will soon sink upon the ground.

Tilly's restlessness visibly increased as the Swedes came nearer; their movements and tactics were new to him; he realized he was dealing with an enemy who was a match for him. The mercenaries of Mansfield and the Brunswickers had been much easier to overcome.

Tilly, a small hoary old man, who, on account of a peaked shrivelled face and a long snow-white beard, had a somewhat uncanny appearance wore a green satin dress. A long red feather waved on his Spanish hat; his horse was strikingly large and powerful.

The moment awaited with painful suspense on both sides was drawing nearer. Pappenheim's impet-

Gustavus Adolphus in Germany.

uosity opened the battle. Having gone too far in reconnoitering among the enemy and being hard-pressed, he demanded immediate assistance from Tilly, who rendered it unwillingly with the remark: "This man will rob me of honor and good name and the emperor of land and people."

The battle began at Loberbach. Pappenheim's cavalry, now greatly strengthened, for some time prevented the king from crossing. Yet — Pappenheim was repulsed. To the right of the burning town of Podelwitz Gustavus Adolphus formed his skillful line of battle: Infantry and cavalry exchanged with one another in small squads. The imperial troops advanced at Gobschelwitz in two lines. Arnim commanded the first, the elector the second.

The watch-word of the imperialists was: "Jesus, Maria"; that of the Swedes and Saxons: "God with us."

Heavy cannonading thundered from both sides. During the first attack the Swedes had the wind and dust against them. For a long time they defended themselves by skillful turns. Pappenheim vehemently attacked the right wing, which Baner commanded. His plan was to outflank it. — The danger increased. The king himself hastened to the relief of the dangerous situation. A furious fight ensued. Pappenheim endeavored to force a victory, but the combined effect

The Battle at Breitenfeld.

of the cavalry-men's swords, the infantry's guns, and the small easily handled cannon was irresistible. A regiment of infantry following Pappenheim was entirely destroyed.

While these events were transpiring on the Swedish line, General Fürstenberg's heavy cavalry attacked the Saxons occupying the extreme left wing. For a time these offered the bravest resistance; but when the enemy threw more and more forces into the fight, their ranks finally broke; whole companies threw away their weapons and fled. The elector himself galloped to Eilenburg, Arnim fled to the ranks of the Swedes.

By this procedure the king's left flank was seriously threatened.

It was now that Gustavus Adolphus' generalship recovered the battle. A second line together with the reserve, quickly joined the first. A new sword and fire line loomed up before the enemy. The attacks crowded and repeated themselves, man fought against man, hand to hand until finally the king, like a storm overcoming all opposition, broke his way into the midst of the enemy.

At this moment the news came that Baner had vanquished the left wing of the enemy and was repulsing him in the direction of Breitenfeld.

The king ordered a general forward movement.

He rode a fiery roan horse, wore a grey coat over his elk-cape; and a wide-brimmed hat with a green feather adorned his head. His ranks at present in diverging lines, formed again and advanced, the cavalry leading up the heights, where the enemy's artillery stood. It was such an onslaught as none could withstand. All the batteries fell into the king's hands; they were rapidly reversed and their murderous missiles crashed into the centre and reserve of the enemy. The rout was complete; fear and terror took hold on all; every one that had a horse or legs fled. Tilly himself was in the greatest danger. A Swedish captain of horse was close at his heels and recognizing him, pounded him on the neck and back with a pistol until he himself was shot by an imperial rider.

In a rectangle formed by several veteran regiments that were still intact, Tilly marched back to Halle. He was very weak and much affected, had received three shots, none of which, however, had struck home. The report soon spread that he was taken prisoner.

Over 6,000 of the enemy strewed the battle-field; the Saxons had lost 2,000; the Swedes only 700 men. Besides these, at least 5,000 imperial and league soldiers fell into the hands of the pursuing victors. Tilly's beautiful army was annihilated in a few hours;

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his artillery lost; the fame of his invincibility gone forever.

Gustavus Adolphus, as soon as he realized the victorious outcome of his attack, fell on his knees among the dead and wounded, and with the fervency peculiar to him gave thanks to the Lord of hosts for the glorious victory. In the starlight a thanksgiving service was held and the choral: "A mighty fortress is our God," was sung. From numerous surrounding villages the bells pealed out on the mild summer night, and on the heights for miles around bonfires blazed.

Couriers recalled the elector of Saxony who had fled. The re-assembled cavalry and infantry of his scattered army captured Leipzig after a few days, and thus shared in a small measure the great victory of the Swedes.

As the destruction of Magdeburg a short time ago had called forth rejoicing and exultation from Catholic Germany, so the defeat of Tilly at Breitenfeld and Leipzig spread fear and dismay among them. The elector of Bavaria trembled, and the emperor himself was ill at ease. The "little enemy" had grown to be a powerful foe.

Among the Protestants, however, Gustavus Adolphus' name very soon became highly honored; songs and portraits immortalized the hero as the saviour of spiritual and political liberty.

IX.

Gustavus Adolphus' Triumphal March Through Thuringia, Franconia and Bavaria.

The king rested for a few days in Halle. The elector of Saxony also reported here soon after. He feared reproaches but met with a very gracious reception.

The king was holding a council of war in Moritzburg. Many princes were present; the object was to turn to the best advantage the late brilliant victory.

"Straight to Vienna, your majesty," was the advice of the elector of Saxony, whose courage had now waxed strong. "The road is clear since it leads largely through Evangelical countries: Bohemia and Moravia will greet you cordially, and join forces with you! Before the walls of Vienna the laws shall be dictated to the emperor Ferdinand!"

Prince Ludwig of Anhalt advised the king to pursue Tilly's army, which in all probability would re-assemble in Westphalia.

The duke Frederick Adolphus referred to the devastated north German countries which were not able to support one army, much less two.

The elector of Saxony reiterated his suggestion,

that the king march against Vienna; he himself would offer the league the sword.

A slight shadow flitted across the cheerful countenance of Gustavus Adolphus: The elector of Saxony would never be capable of this task.

Duke William of Saxe-Weimar, the elder brother of the duke Bernhard, proposed another plan. "My dear sir," said he to the king, "you must penetrate the so-called Pfaffengasse, gain possession of the course of the Main, and settle on the Rhine. Only in this way is it possible to attract to ourselves the Protestants there, and break the league's remaining power."

This plan prevailed. To the king it appeared much more advantageous than an advance to Vienna. He hoped to reach that city in this roundabout way. He also knew that in a march to southwestern Germany he stood the best chance of meeting Tilly again. His words were: "I will pursue this old corporal to the end of the earth."

Gustavus Adolphus was severely criticized for going to the Rhine instead of Vienna, even by his clever chancellor Oxenstjerna, who on meeting him at Frankfort on the Main, called to him: "I rejoice Sire to find you here a famous victor, but it were more agreeable to me to greet you in the royal residence at Vienna."

While the Swedes now kept themselves in readi-

ness for an invasion into the fertile and sunny countries of southwest Germany, the Saxons occupied Bohemia and their native country almost without resistance; but accorded to the imperial estates and officers the most considerate treatment.

On the 17th of September the Swedish army began its march from Halle to Erfurt. It reached this place on the 24th. In order to conciliate the inhabitants of this city, the king at once gave audience to the magistrates and the administrators of the guilds.

In a lengthy and excellent address he emphasized the cause which had induced him to take part in the German war: the rescue of the threatened Evangelical liberty.

He then spoke of his labors and hardships for the sake of this blessing. "It is true," he said, "I am still strong and well, but I must meet anew an embittered enemy, who will endeavor in every way to injure me, and put me out of the way. But whatever comes I shall accept as a dispensation from God. I would consider myself happy if the Lord in heaven ordained me to suffer danger or death for His name's sake."

He showed himself very patient and humane toward the Catholics in Erfurt. To the deans of the cathedral he said: "Inform your master, the elector of Mayence, that he would do me a favor by withdrawing his troops from the army of the league. I

Gustavus Adolphus' Triumphal March, Etc.

am not come to oppress the electors, but to defend them and it would grieve me exceedingly to be forced to hostilities."

To the Jesuits he said with his accustomed candor: "You will some day be called to answer before heaven for the unrest and bloodshed you have caused. I know more about you than you imagine. Your intentions and teachings are evil, your behavior criminal. I advise you to take care and not meddle hereafter in affairs of state."

From Erfurt his march proceeded over the inhospitable roads of the Thuringian forests. It was his plan to penetrate the wealthy bishopric at Würzburg. The key to it, the fortress of Königshofen, readily fell into his hands. The city itself he was obliged to take by force. The castle resisted longest. The brave defenders lay in rows in the court, the corridors and rooms. Many, however, had only feigned death in order not to meet it at the hands of the conquerors. When the king on his entrance into the castle perceived the many rosy vigorous countenances among the cold corpses he said laughingly: "Arise, no harm shall come to you!" More than a dozen obeyed.

Meanwhile Tilly had received re-inforcements, had united with the troops of the duke of Lorraine, and raged fearfully in Hessen. He burned with a desire to measure arms anew with the king and to

atone for Leipzig. He received, however, from the elector of Bavaria, his real superior, the express command not to attack Gustavus Adolphus, nor to risk the fate of Bavaria and Swabia. The aged Tilly wept over this. By the conquest of Hanau, which the field-marshal Gustavus van Horn accomplished, the way to Frankfurt was open to the king. As he approached this city ambassadors of the senate met him and urgently begged him to avoid Frankfurt, or, at least to spare the city an encampment.

The king answered: "It surprises me greatly that you value your ease and your rations higher than your conscience. From the largely Evangelical population of Frankfurt I had expected better things. On the road from Usedom to the Main I obtained the key to many cities, I will not allow Frankfurt to lock its doors against me. Furthermore, I do not come for my own advantage, but in the interest of religious liberty and the general welfare."

He energetically refused the subterfuge of the Frankfurters to consult the elector of Mayence, their bishop, about the surrender of the town, adding: "As master of the town of Aschaffenburg, I now occupy the place of the elector of Mayence, and can impart to you as vigorous a resolution as he."

The king entered Frankfurt on the 14th of November. Mayence did not fall into his hands so

quickly. The Spaniards here defended the clerical elector for weeks, but finally this town also flung open its gates to the victor.

From here the king returned to Frankfurt. He had the great pleasure of greeting his beloved wife here after a separation of one and one half years.

And what a meeting! Her bold giant of the north was master of half of Germany.

The whole royal army encamped around Mayence during the winter. It was pleasant to live here; for this stretch of the great German country was until now little affected by the long war, and the inhabitants of the cities and villages were well supplied with provisions of all kinds.

An abundance, such as they had never enjoyed, existed in the Swedish camp. The soldiers would sell a cow to the citizens or peasants for one dollar, a sheep, hog or calf for 5 to 6 pennies. In the former wars of Gustavus Adolphus, namely the Polish and Prussian, the soldiers had to content themselves with water and mouldy bread, now they prepared their cold drinks in their helmets with wine, zwieback or rolls.

Like the king the field-m Marshals were victorious at all points.

The cause of the emperor and the league were in a bad plight. The fall of both was prophesied with

certainty. Scarcely 50,000 men, scattered here and there over Germany, were at their disposal. Besides Hungary was threatened by the Turks and in Ob der Ens an uprising of the Evangelical peasants, who demanded liberty and the restoration of their churches and preachers, caused the emperor much uneasiness.

We must not conceal the strained relations between Ferdinand and Max of Bavaria. The latter had concluded a secret truce with France. Richelieu himself feared further victories of the king. He had not imagined his progress so rapid and so brilliant. He now regretted having built for him the golden bridge to Germany. Instead of having for a neighbor the less dangerous German emperor he now had the glorious intrepid Gustavus Adolphus.

And when the latter in the spring of the year 1632 threatened to garrison German Alsace and Lorraine, the Parisian cabinet grew pale with fear. Further reports were to the effect that this crusade was for the protection of the French Huguenots (Protestants) and that the king's intention was to cross the Alps with 70,000 men and depose the pope.

The present French ambassador Marquis of Breze begged Gustavus Adolphus in the name of his monarch not to press on to Alsace as France wished to do this and unite to itself a province which even in king Dagobert's time belonged to this crown.

Gustavus Adolphus' Triumphal March, Etc.

The king was enraged: "I came not over the Baltic sea to be a traitor to the German empire but as its protector, and will never give my consent that a province or even a city be severed from it."

When the ambassador suggested that the French army now gathered on the border of Lorraine should repair to Germany and support the Swedes, the king rejected this offer with the words: "I doubt exceedingly whether two armies so unlike could agree in Germany. It were better that the king of France should attack the emperor's confederates, the Spaniards in Catalonia or elsewhere, and allow me to carry on the war in Germany on my own responsibility."

It happened that at this time the elector of Bavaria also sought from Gustavus Adolphus neutrality for himself and his country under certain conditions. But the latter was not minded to have terms dictated but rather to name his own. The sword was soon to decide matters between him and the proud prince of Bavaria.

Simultaneous negotiations for peace between Gustavus Adolphus and the emperor, whose mediator was the elector of Mayence likewise came to naught.

The king invaded Franconia in the spring after Tilly, who now besieged Nuremberg, had rioted in the territory of Anspach. But he was obliged to abandon

this enterprise on account of the treachery of one of his gunners who had blown up his whole supply of powder — 125 hundredweight, and done great injury to his army. Tilly marched to Nordlingen. There he discharged the last remnant of the troops brought over by the duke of Lorraine.

The bishop of Bamberg first felt the power of the Swedish hand. It was Horn who attacked here, and though he suffered great loss Gustavus Adolphus repaired it.

With 40,000 men the king now marched from Forschheim to Erlangen and beyond. Having reached Fürth he was greeted by a deputation of Nuremberger patriots and invited to honor their city with his presence.

Gustavus Adolphus gladly consented. Nuremberg had long ago become dear to him. He had lately promised the city the glorious German estates which lay within municipal jurisdiction, and had allowed Nuremberger merchants to travel to the Frankfurter spring fair under Swedish escort.

With immeasurable rejoicing he was received by the Nurembergers. At a brilliant banquet which the city gave in his honor, after the elders had presented him with a costly silver cup, he made a lengthy speech from which we quote the following:

“Never swerve from the precious Evangelical

religion! Your enemies will leave no stone unturned,—therefore stand firm! Consider to what dangers you would be exposed, if you fall into their power. I can not overcome my surprise and must ascribe it to the grace of God that the enemy did not again take possession of Nuremberg since he occupied it for two or three years previously. God has protected you in just such a miraculous way as He has called me to this holy work. I had never hoped to come into your city, which I long loved and prized on account of your works of art, trade and commerce. I have heretofore avoided no danger for the sake of the Evangelical religion and German liberty, and will in the future at the risk of my life, do all I possibly can for the same, and particularly for your city. Have patience and suffer yet a little longer! Be firm, fight a good fight and keep the faith, and God will preserve you henceforth, and cause your city to increase in the riches of faith, and grant you the earthly and hereafter a heavenly crown.”

The king only remained in Nuremberg for the afternoon; toward evening he followed his army, which was passing close by the city in its march toward Swabia.

A few days later we find him in Donauworth. This city formed the bridge across the Danube into Bavaria. A second road led over the Lech. Tilly

here maintained a firm position at the little town of Rain, and to insure his own safety he had cut off all the bridges as far as Augsburg. His camp held a valuable treasure; namely, the elector Max of Bavaria, who was now greatly alarmed about the safety of his hereditary estates.

Gustavus Adolphus personally appeared at the Lech. He did not conceal from himself that the passage over this river, and the attack upon Tilly who had deeply intrenched himself would be a difficult one. His field-officers agreed with him. The aged and experienced Horn tried urgently to dissuade him from an attack.

"We," exclaimed the king at this protest, "we who have sailed across the Baltic sea and have crossed many of Germany's large and small streams, should fear to cross the Lech, when the solution of the problem lies beyond?"

On the same evening in the pale moonlight three batteries were erected and surrounded by a trench. Under cover of this 300 determined Finns built a bridge, and, as meanwhile a ford had been discovered the whole Swedish army had soon crossed to the east shore.

Tilly attacked the Swedes with mortal courage before they could form and establish themselves. His old soldiers fought with the greatest skill, but the mis-

fortune which now befell their aged leader, disheartened all their columns.

A Swedish falconet-bullet shattered the right leg of the commander-in-chief above the knee. He was still able to give the command for a retreat to Ingolstadt. He died here after fifteen days of intense suffering. His last words to the elector, Max, who tarried at his death-bed were: "Hold Regensburg! the Bavarian elector's hat falls with that city!"

Concerning the strength of the Bavarian position the king remarked: "Had I been master of it, I would never have been expelled, not even if a bullet had torn away beard and chin."

The victory at Lech led Gustavus Adolphus to Augsburg. He immediately introduced again the Lutheran divine service, restored the old municipal government, placed a permanent Swedish garrison in the city, and had the inhabitants swear allegiance. He attended service in the St. Anna church. Dr. Fabricius, the court-chaplain, spoke on the text: "For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; I will set him in safety from him that would ensnare him." After the sermon the *Te Deum* was sung.

The king hereupon repaired to the Fugger palace at the wine market, examined the venerable town-hall and arsenal and gave orders to be conducted to the

chamber in which the Evangelical princes 102 years before had presented to the mighty emperor, Charles V, their confession.

Noble thoughts certainly filled Gustavus' soul at this time; for he had restored in Germany to a great extent the confession which the catholic Hapsburgers and their Jesuits had trampled under foot.

The siege of the fortress of Ingolstadt which he shortly undertook did not have the desired result. It seemed more important to the king to march to Munich, the capital of Bavaria. On the way he took Landshut. The citizens of this town had perpetrated great cruelties upon the Swedish prisoners. Filled with anxiety lest the victorious king would exercise the right of reprisals, the counsellors met him half-way, offered him the keys of the city and fell prostrate, begging forgiveness.

Gustavus Adolphus addressed them sternly; it was his intention to discipline Landshut for the cruelties and misdeeds.

"When I consider your disgraceful actions against my brave soldiers, anger overcomes me. You cut off their noses and ears, chopped off their hands and feet. It were weakness for me to show you mercy. You shall be punished even as you have deserved to be."

And yet his noble heart conquered, — he forgave

them. In Landshut the French ambassador also sought audience with the king. It was granted.

Of late the jealousy of France over Gustavus Adolphus' victories had increased. King Louis XIII had taken occasion in the presence of the Venetian ambassador to say: It is high time to set a limit to the triumphal progress of the bold Goth.

The ambassador demanded neutrality for the elector of Bavaria. It was a serious matter; the Frenchman haggled beyond all endurance. Gustavus Adolphus finally told him: "I will have nothing more to do with you, as you have no letters of authority from your sovereign."

"Then I demand," said he, no less excited, "that your majesty at least state the conditions under which you are willing to grant the elector neutrality."

"Well and good" exclaimed the king. "The Bavarian shall have peace, if he immediately discharges his troops, not delivering them to the emperor, and if he will take oath not to undertake hostilities against me or the crown of Sweden within three years. But I will have an answer by to-morrow, — yes or no! If he shows, however, that he only dallies with me, I will take revenge; I will burn and desolate Bavaria in such a manner, that your flippant elector shall marvel."

As the ambassador at the conclusion of the audi-

ence ventured to ask the king how far he intended to carry his conquests, and where the limit would be, he answered rapidly: "There where my interest demands it."

The threat that France would feel compelled to march on Sweden, was met by the king with the reply: "Then I will appear before Paris with 100,000 men."

One consequence of these strained relations was, that the French subsidy came sparingly and finally ceased altogether.

With the seizure of Landshut the way to old Bavaria was opened to the king. This was a good prospect for his army; for the war had until now wholly spared this country; houses, barns and cellars were stocked.

But there was a different obstacle: the Swedes now came to a country, where the national spirit was inimical. On every Sunday fanatical preachers prayed to God from the pulpit: "Deliver us from the arch-enemy, the Swedish devil."

The king shortly before crossing the boundary issued a strict mandate to his army. Among other things he said: "A soldier who shall within or without his quarters, or, on the highway plunder, or commit wrong shall be arrested and punished without clemency. No soldier may without especial permit

carry open or concealed weapons outside of his quarters."

In Munich the approach of the king created a panic. The electoral treasury was transferred to Werfen; the elector's wife fled to Salzburg.

The magistrate believed it to be the wisest course under the circumstances, to dispatch several deputies to the king at Freising to offer an agreement. However Gustavus Adolphus would not listen to him, but demanded a voluntary surrender. The magistrate now approached the king, handed him the keys of the city and commended it to his mercy.

Gustavus Adolphus met the deputation very graciously. "You have done well," said he, "your submission disarms me. I might with justice have avenged myself on your city for the misfortune of Magdeburg. But fear nothing, have no anxiety on account of your possessions, your families or your religion. Depart in peace, you have my word and that is worth more than all the articles of capitulation in the world." —

On the 7th of May the king entered Munich. Only three regiments followed him; the others camped outside the city.

He took up his headquarters in the castle, where he had the opportunity to admire the splendor and tasteful arrangement of this ducal residence. "Who

is the architect of this gorgeous palace?" he asked of the accompanying guard, while examining the same. "The elector himself," he answered. "O, that I could send this architect to Stockholm!" "My gracious lord and master will know how to prevent that," added the guide candidly; an answer which the king did not resent.

The next morning he visited the arsenal. He found only gun-carriages, but no cannon. A peasant divulged the secret: they were buried under the floors. "Arise, you that are dead," the king called jocosely. The boards were raised and 140 cannon lay revealed. Among them was one bearing the name "Sow" and in it were hidden 30,000 ducats.

At a military review, which the king conducted, all Munich streamed to the Isaargate and admired the superb army. The inhabitants observed how the king would dismount and now and again take the gun from the hand of a soldier, who did not do particularly well and show him how to shoot.

By a visit to the church of the Jesuits he won over many thousand citizens. The rector greeted him in a Latin address, to which he gracefully responded in the same language. The hero then defended the Lord's Supper under both forms, although with most temperate words. On the 10th of May, the anniver-

Gustavus Adolphus' Triumphal March, Etc.

sary of the fall of Magdeburg, which fell on ascension day, he attended Lutheran service in the cathedral.

On his exit he allowed money to be scattered among the multitude.

He soon departed from Munich. A revolt among the upper Swabian peasants called him to the Iller. At the end of May 1632 all Bavaria except Ingolstadt was in the king's power. Max sent express messengers to Vienna to implore help from the emperor, who himself was uneasy concerning the situation. He hoped everything, however, from — Wallenstein.

L. O. C.

X.

Wallenstein Again General in Chief. The Fortress at Nuremberg.

The reader will recall in the second chapter — A Retrospect — that the emperor Ferdinand in the Reichstag at Regensburg, had discharged Wallenstein at the urgent request of the Evangelical and the league princes, particularly Max of Bavaria.

In the meantime Wallenstein had dwelt on his estates in Bohemia. His palace stands today in Prague, bearing testimony to his taste and wealth. He had a richly paid body-guard and a court household consisting of four chamberlains, twelve knights and sixty pages. Three hundred draft and saddle horses were in his stables and fed from marble cribs. Besides the rich revenues he obtained from his extensive estates in Moravia, Schleswig and Bohemia he controlled large deposits in banks at Venice and Amsterdam.

He alone was the man who could save the Austrian monarchy.

As Gustavus Adolphus was constantly and rapidly gaining ground in Germany, the emperor sent baron Questenberg to Wallenstein with the request to again take command of the army. But he declined.

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When he learned that he was only to have command under the emperor's son, he said to one of his confidants: "And if they offered me a commission along side of our Lord I would decline; for I must command alone."

The emperor was greatly dismayed at this refusal. He immediately wrote him a personal and very appealing letter, that he might not desert him in time of greatest need. Wallenstein now pledged himself within three months to furnish the emperor an army of from 40-50,000 men. But he declared unequivocally that he would not accept a command.

His recruiting drum sounded. From all sides old and young responded and collected around his newly unfolded flag of hope. They were allured by the high wages and the prospect of rich booty. Those in Bohemia and Moravia who did not volunteer were forced into service. The recruiting officers offered the young men a rope and a sum of money. "Now choose" they said. The army was in marching order in the spring of 1632, but the general was wanting. The emperor's repeated petitions that Wallenstein should undertake the command was denied. His pride had reserved for the last the direst humiliation of the German emperor.

While the Saxons remained in Bohemia Wallenstein resided in Znaim. The imperial ambassadors flocked thither to approach the all-powerful one. He

scorned them all; finally the prince Eggenberg succeeded in propitiating the evil spirit.

But oh! what conditions Wallenstein made! There is nowhere in history a similar example of compromise between chief and subject. The master became servant, the servant, master. Let us hear.

I. The duke of Friedland is and shall remain commander-in-chief not only for the emperor, but also for the whole arch-duchy of Austria and for the Spanish. II. The emperor shall never be with the army, still less take command. III. As security for well-earned and suitable reward the duke of Friedland shall be granted in proper form one of the Austrian hereditary estates until after the war. IV. For reward extraordinary he shall be lord-paramount over such countries as he shall conquer in the German empire. V. The confiscation of wealth and property depends entirely upon the will of the duke of Friedland. VI. In matters of pardon the duke will follow his own pleasure. Without his approval, a pardon granted by the emperor is void. VII. Unconditional pardon shall (on account of the leniency of the emperor) be sought from the duke of Friedland alone. VIII. After a treaty of peace the duchy of Mecklenburg is to be guaranteed to the Duke of Friedland. IX. All the Austrian hereditary estates shall at all times be open to the duke and his troops." —

In the beginning of April the emperor signed this humiliating and dishonorable agreement.

The Catholic church rejoiced: Wallenstein was the man to drive the heretical king of Sweden from German soil. Pope Urban VIII sent the Friedlander a consecrated dagger with his apostolic blessing. "The fatherland of nations (Rome!),” he wrote to him, "has learned with great satisfaction that you, pious son of the church, have again been called into the German war. We pray the Lord of hosts that he may gloriously guide in your victorious hand the spear of heavenly vengeance, to punish those peoples who assail heaven, and to smother the sighs of the oppressed church. May the heavenly host join your hosts, who fight for the Lord.” . . .

Wallenstein's first act of war was the expulsion of the Saxons from Bohemia; his first triumph the humiliation of his arch enemy, the elector Max of Bavaria. The latter hastened from Regensburg to Eger to pay his respects to Wallenstein. A master in the art of deception and hypocrisy he embraced the Friedlander as his deliverer. In the Friedlander's eyes there shone in this farce the malicious fire of gratified revenge.

A few days later the troops of the league joined Wallenstein at Eger, and marched with thunder and lightning, in the glare of the burning upper Palati-

nate to Franconia. Wallenstein's haughtiness induced him to say: "Within a few days we shall see which of us is master in Germany, I or the Swede!"

Gustavus Adolphus judging from the reports of the above facts thought Wallenstein's blow would strike the Saxons first. Now he learned it was to be aimed at him.

Finding himself too weak to withstand the combined forces of the enemy in open field he hastened to Nuremberg.* He wanted to save this protestant city from the fate of Magdeburg, be to them shield, helm and girdle. He arrived in time to make the most careful preparations. With the help of the inhabitants mighty breastworks were raised within twenty hours. By the end of June an entire inaccessible fortress was completed. In a large wide circle the breast-works extended around the city. A deep trench surrounded the lines, the entrances were covered by crescents or hornworks. The black mouths of 300 cannon gaped at the enemy. The Nurenbergers had also provided richly-filled magazines. All male inhabitants between the ages of 18 and 60 to the number of 30,000 were obliged to take arms and were drilled daily. It was their duty to guard the less threatened points. The king, himself, was present early and late at all work

* The real army of the king only numbered 18,000 men, Wallenstein's, on the contrary about 60,000.

and practice. He made his headquarters at the home of the patrician Leubelfing, whose son entered his service as page and remained at his side until death.

The following song was composed in the city of Nuremberg:

“Nuremberg, the glory of the nation,
The enemy has sworn thy ruination.
But God has graciously remembered thee
And sent from Sweden, from beyond the sea
A father who beneath the heaven’s blue
O’er thee keeps faithful watch with heroes true.
Fail not their daily needs to supply
For in their welfare thine also doth lie.
Gladly would Magdeburg now all things do,
Were’t not too late, to have a friend so true.”

When Wallenstein received the news of the king’s occupation of Nuremberg he considered it a small matter to overpower him, and so end the war with one blow. But as he soon learned how excellently his opponent was intrenched he quickly changed his mind, repaired to Swalbach below Nuremberg across the Rebnitz, and occupied a height called the “old hill,” which he fortified by trenches and breastworks.

To the elector of Bavaria who insisted on a hasty decision he said cold-bloodedly: “We have given battle enough; it is time to follow other tactics,”

Here for nine weeks from the beginning of July the two greatest generals of their century stood, facing each other with the eyes of the world turned toward them.

A little war was waged, which resulted for the most part to the advantage of the Swedes; and many transports of cattle, grain and ammunition were taken by the skillful Swedish foragers.

On the 24th of August after the king had increased his army to 45,000 men by the union of Oxenstjerna's, Baner's and the duke of Weimar's forces, he stormed Wallenstein's camp for ten hours; but in vain. With great loss of life he was obliged to retreat to his ramparts. A cannon-ball tore away the sole of the king's boot, throwing him from his horse. "It is nothing" he said on rising, "the apple is not yet ripe."

Naturally Wallenstein's army also suffered greatly. Famine and sickness caused still further loss of life. It was on this account that the strict discipline relaxed. This is obvious from the king's remarks to his assembled German officers. "Princes, lords and nobles," he said, "you who help to destroy your own land! My heart is embittered by the complaint which I hear that soldiers of my army are considered more disgraceful than even those of the enemy. Not the Swedes but the Germans defile themselves

with excesses. Had I known that you Germans carried in your hearts so little love and loyalty for your native country, I had not, on your account, saddled a horse, let alone put at stake my crown and my life. I sacrificed everything and neither from you nor your empire have I received enough to clothe myself meanly; and in fact would rather ride naked than robe myself by theft. If you are willing to deny God and your honor, nevertheless, all Christendom shall know that I was willing to sacrifice my life; and if you should now rebel against me, I will know how to defend myself with my Swedes and Finlanders. Reflect and consider that you will be called upon to give an account to God for your actions. I am so grieved that it vexes me longer to mingle with you.

A German servant at this moment passed by, leading a stolen cow. The king took the thief by the hair and handed him over to the executioner with the words: "It is better that I punish you immediately than that God should chastise not only you but me and the entire army."

All were astonished at the king's anger.

On the 8th of September Gustavus Adolphus broke camp at Nuremberg. Only General Kniphausen remained with 4500 men to protect the city. In full view of the enemy and with the bands playing, the Swedish army marched to Neustadt on the Aisch;

From there to Windsheim. Larger companies were sent to upper Bavaria and the Rhine.

But even Wallenstein could not remain longer on account of hunger and misery. Five days later he too broke camp and went to Forchheim. Because of the scarcity of draught-horses he was obliged to leave behind much equipment, weapons and such things — a booty which came handy to the Nurembergers. In Bamberg the elector of Bavaria with his army of 9,000 men parted from Wallenstein to render his own country assistance. Wallenstein's intention was to exhaust Franconia and Thuringen next. After doing this thoroughly, — the chronicles of this country report frightful things — he took his course to Saxony. Scarcely had the elector received the news of the approach of the evil guest, when he dispatched messengers to Gustavus Adolphus. The latter was just on the point of besieging Ingolstadt. A march to Saxony appeared more urgent to him. Had he at this time refused the elector the desired assistance, the unreliable confederate would have been induced to throw himself into Wallenstein's army. Therefore forward!

In Arnstadt the king again joined forces with Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar. Here he vouchsafed his army, unstrung by the long and rapid march, a few days rest. His troops numbered only 1,300 men.

In Erfurt he met his wife after a long separation. The meeting was exceedingly joyous, the parting therefore the more painful. Never had husband and wife experienced such grief. The queen had here the opportunity to speak with Jacob Ericson, the body-guard. She begged him earnestly not to desert his royal master, and to bring him back to her alive or dead. From the head of the departing army the king called to his wife: "If we never see each other again here, we will meet in the future world. Farewell!"

On the entrance into the Saxon city of Naumburg, he was received with indescribable exultation. The people crowded around him and prostrated themselves.

The action displeased the king. To the chaplain accompanying him he said seriously: "Our Saxons are otherwise well enough, but I fear the Lord will punish me for their folly. These people seem to want to make me their idol, and I am only a weak mortal. Lord, Lord," he prayed turning his eyes heavenward, "I commend myself to thy omniscient providence and pray that thou mayest not leave unfinished the work begun for the glory of Thy name.' "

Wallenstein had meanwhile reached Leipzig. His plan was to press forward to Dresden. As he was about to cross the Mulda at Grimma he heard the news of Gustavus Adolphus' presence at Naumburg. It

was at once apparent to him that he was pursued for the protection of the Saxons. He turned about to resist the enemy. He marched to Weisenfels by way of Leipzig, and detached the generals Snys and Breda to garrison the pass at Saal and the bridge at Kosen. The Swedes had anticipated them. Wallenstein and his generals concluded that the king only intended to occupy a defense for the winter. In this belief he issued the order to Pappenheim to advance to Westphalia, but incidentally to take the weakly-fortified city of Moritzburg in Halle. He dispatched count Colleredo to Weisenfels; general Snys to Zwickau to keep guard of the king from all sides. He, himself encamped at Merseberg between the canal and the Saal.

As soon as the king was informed of Pappenheim's departure, he firmly decided to attack Wallenstein. He broke camp at Naumburg.

XI.

The Battle of Luetzen.

When the king was half way between Naumburg and Pegau, about ten o'clock in the morning on the 5th of November in severe cold weather, he learned that Wallenstein's army was encamped in the villages around Lützen. He exclaimed joyfully, "I now firmly believe that God has given the enemy into our hands!" He immediately sent a larger division for the occupation of Weisenfels. Colleredo was about to evacuate this place, when he saw from the castle on the heights the entire Swedish army advance toward Lützen. He hastened to notify Wallenstein, who at once wrote Pappenheim to return without delay that the enemy had already reached Rippacher pass.*

The king spent the last night of his life in a coach; the army encamped in an open field. During the entire night there was a great commotion in the enemy's camp. Three cannon-shots summoned the scattered regiments; Wallenstein's adjutants were speeding in

* This letter, drenched in Pappenheim's blood, for he still had it in his possession when the fatal bullet struck him during the battle of Lützen, is preserved in the imperial archives at Vienna.

all directions. Picks and shovels burrowed into the frozen ground to erect a bulwark for the musketeers, and the trenches on both sides of the high-way between Leipzig and Lützen were made deeper. Wallenstein's position was north of this road, which his front ranks covered. His right wing rested on Lützen and the windmills here; the left extended into the open field toward the ditch.

Four immense squares of infantry formed the center of the imperial army; here Wallenstein himself was stationed. Smaller squares in front resembled advancing bastions. On the highway there was a battery about which a murderous encounter was about to develop. The remaining batteries tarried in the neighborhood of the windmills. To the right and left of the infantry there were long columns of Piccolomini's cuirassiers, and beyond these were hordes of Croates. The Swedes crossed the ditch without opposition. Their line of battle was the same as at Leipzig. The cavalry was everywhere interspersed with divisions of musketeers of 80-100 men. The king commanded the right wing, Duke Bernard of Weimar the left, and Nils Brahe the centre. The brave Scotsman, Henderson, and general Ohm of the Palatinate commanded the reserve. Five large cannon were in front of every Swedish brigade, 40 smaller ones in the space between the cavalry and infantry.

The Battle of Luetzen

A heavy fog, which only began to disperse toward ten o'clock in the morning, hung over the plain at Lützen, on the 6th day of November, 1632. The Swedish army conducted their morning devotions, sang, amid the clang of drum and fife, Luther's hymn: "A mighty fortress is our God." After this the king himself joyfully sang: "Jesus Christ, our Saviour, who conquered death."

When Jacob Ericson pleaded earnestly with the king as he mounted his charger to wear his armor, — for he had solemnly promised the queen to take all possible care of the king, he answered: "God is my shield!" In a simple doublet over which he had drawn a cloth coat he rode through the ranks of his soldiers and addressed them with encouraging words. "Only fight bravely!" said he to several German cavalry regiments, "you fight not only under my command, but with me and along side of me. With God's help I hope for a victory that shall be a blessing to your remotest grandchildren!"

After these words to which the entire army responded with clang of weapons and joyous shouts the king exclaimed: "Now to work in God's name. Jesus, Jesus, let us fight to-day in the glory of Thy name!" and brandishing his sword over his head he gave the command: "Forward!"

Lützen was in flames, — the work of the imperial-

ists. The king was at this moment accompanied by Duke Francis of Saxen-Lauenburg, the chamberlain Truchsess, the page Leubelfing, several adjutants and two body-guards, of which Jacob Ericson was one.

The rapidly advancing right wing of the Swedes received a heavy fire from the guns and muskets. Nevertheless three brigades pressed across the highway, took the battery, overthrew two of the enemy's platoons and were about to capture the third when they were forced to retreat by the superior forces of the foe.

The Swedish horses which at sight of the deep trenches had hesitated, finally crossed them. The king was in the front squadron. Here he was informed of the speedy victory of his men. "God, God I thank thee," he prayed with uncovered head.

Opposite him were the imperial cuirassiers, from head to foot rigid in iron.

"Stählhandski" the king called to the leader of the Finnish riders, "attack the black fellows, they will make us suffer!"

He now learned of the weakening of his infantry. At the head of his Samland cavalry he hastened to their assistance, — all too eagerly — for becoming separated from his troops on account of the mist and powder-smoke he found himself in the ranks of the enemy's cavalry. His horse was wounded; a pistol

The Battle of Luetzen

shot at close range soon shattered his left arm. "Take me from the turmoil, brother," he said to the Duke of Lauenberg; at the same moment he received a shot in the back. With the cry: "My God, my God," he fell from his horse, which dragged him some distance as he remained fastened in his stirrups.

Of the two body-guards, who had accompanied the king thus far, one was about dead, the other, Jacob Ericson, was seriously wounded and unable to render his monarch assistance, but he kept his eyes glued to the spot where his master had fallen.

The Duke of Lauenberg had fled; the page Leubelfing was with the king and tendered him his horse. The king stretched out his hands, but the page, himself wounded, had not the strength to raise him unaided from the ground.

The imperial cuirassiers now approached asking "Who is this?" Leubelfing was silent, when the severely-wounded king called out: "I am the king of Sweden!" whereon one of the enemy shot him through the head.

The chamberlain Truchsess first carried the news of this catastrophe to the duke of Weimar. The king's bloody, wildly-roving charger spread the dreadful tidings from rank to rank.

The experienced Kniphausen advised an orderly retreat.

The fiery duke Bernhard cried courageously: "No retreat! Revenge! Revenge! Victory or death!"

An officer who demurred against his order he pierced with his sword.

He rode hastily from the left wing to the right and assumed command.

"Forward!" was the order to all columns. It is necessary to avenge the death of the king. With powerful energy the Swedes rushed on the enemy. In the twinkling of an eye the batteries and squadrons were re-captured, and the entire imperial cavalry thrown on this wing. The confusion was great, but was increased when Swedish bombs exploded the gun-carriages that stood behind the imperial front. The cry of terror sounded: "The enemy is already in our rear!" Every one fled.

Taking advantage of this moment, the left Swedish wing took the enemy's guns at the wind-mills..

Pappenheim now appeared. His first question was: "Where does the king of Sweden command?" He threw himself into the place designated. It was his sincerest desire to measure arms with him, who now was no longer on earth. Carried into the murderous tumult by the savage lust of war, he hastened to his fate. General Stalhandski, who had just rescued from the hands of the rapacious Croates the nude corpse of the king, which disfigured with blood and

The Battle of Luetzen

wounds was lying face to the ground, shot him down.

The battle still raged and roared. Advantage and loss vacillated hither and thither. Wallenstein's cavalry and infantry plunged as with the desperate strength of wounded lions upon the Swedes. Yet these for the most part tried veteran troops stood firm, and as they fell their rigid bodies covered in rows the same ground which in life they had defended.

The declining day hastened the decision.

The Swedish reserve had not yet entered the fight. Duke Bernhard imagined them long hewn to pieces, but he now found in them a powerful support for his broken regiments.

Like a hurricane he broke upon the enemy with this new force. Those who were not seriously wounded or dying roused themselves to a share in this new triumph.

This last encounter was terrible. The ever-thinning wall of exhausted human bodies quivered and fell. But like a Phoenix rising out of blood, death and destruction, Swedish victory arose from the blood-stained spot. Pappenheim's infantry, which had just appeared in the field, was carried along in the general flight of the imperialists. Victory! victory! yelled the Swedish regiments. They spent the cold winter night on this battle-field which was reeking with powder-smoke and human blood.

Gustavus Adolphus in Germany.

Late in the night Wallenstein reached Leipzig, to which place the dying Pappenheim had been carried a few hours earlier.

As the latter here received the news of Gustavus Adolphus' death his face brightened, and his dim eyes flashed once again with the extinguishing heroic spirit.

"Tell the Duke of Friedland," said he, "that I am prostrate without a ray of hope, but that I go hence contented and joyous since I know that the most irreconcilable enemy of my church is no more."

The Swedes were victors, but they did not rejoice over it, on the contrary they were filled with dismay and grief, for their royal chief was missing, whom the now widowed and orphaned army had so tenderly loved. —

Let us refer here to judgments and estimates of Gustavus Adolphus from various standpoints.

Axel Oxenstjerna said of him: "He was a ruler, God-fearing in all his acts and deeds, even unto death."

A Catholic historian expresses himself thus: "The whole army was deeply grieved over his death! for every soldier loved him dearly. Some bemoaned his youth; others his bravery; but all, the splendid endowments of the ruler and the not less brilliant ones of the warrior. He possessed in like degree courage and wisdom; ardent in attack, he was none the less

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careful to preserve the prize. Fortune favored him since after so many battles and constant victories he was triumphant at his death, and that a long list of victories crowned even his grave."

The Swedish historian Gustavus Geiger said of him: "He was humble in heart and recognized in his calling a noble charge. It was far from him to value himself as indispensable, for he placed the goal far above his personality. There never existed a more joyous heroism. It is true, his great thoughts were extinguished with his life on the battlefield at Lützen. But even in death he conquered."

Franz Mauritius said: "Gustavus Adolphus was at least in equal degree a German, as William of Orange, whom the British in national pride to this day look upon as a deliverer of their religious liberty, was an Englishman."

Gustavus Freytag writes of him: "Gustavus Adolphus' end was considered a national calamity, the people had lost a deliverer, a saviour. A cry of grief rang through all Protestant countries; in city and country funeral services were conducted; elegies were innumerable; even the enemies masked their joy behind manly sympathy, such as in those times was never accorded an opponent. We also recognize in the figure of Gustavus Adolphus much of the brilliancy which

Gustavus Adolphus in Germany.

distinguished him in the eyes of his contemporaries from other generals and princes.”

In these excellent testimonies may the portrait of the noble Gustavus Adolphus be preserved to a grateful German people.

XII.

In the Royal Church at Wittenberg.

The night of the 13th to 14th of November in the year 1632 was bitter cold. In the streets the snow creaked, the stars twinkled in the deep blue vault of heaven. The new moon was setting, the necessary light in the streets of Luther's city, Wittenberg, from the long bridge over the Elbe to the royal chapel, was furnished by a double column of citizens carrying burning torches. A great multitude of people were assembled; a deep stillness reigned. Earnestness, grief and sorrow were depicted on all faces.

The tolling of the bell began, muffled drums were heard in the distance, the firm tread of warriors approached; the king's body was escorted to Wittenberg for the night.

Four hundred Sâmland cavalrymen, the remnant of the heroic regiment at whose head the king had fallen in the mortal combat at Lützen, constituted the guard of honor. As the hearse drew up before the chapel door, twelve riders dismounted and bore the coffin before the high altar.

Only the magistrates and students were assembled in the church. A dirge was sung, the superintendent

made a brief address. The audience left the church; a gloomy stillness soon reigned in the large auditorium. The burning tapers at the altar threw their flickering light on the guards surrounding the bier, who appeared more like statues than like living beings.

This Wittenberger royal chapel is a large historical building. Doubly important this night. Deep in the somber vault slept Luther, who had as God's implement without fear of man brought about the Reformation; over him rested the mortal remains of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, who had guarded the work with the sword, and heroically gone to his death in its defense. Eighty-five years before the emperor Charles V had stood on this spot as victor over the Protestant princes, and had spurned the advice of the benighted Roman Catholic Alba to destroy Luther's sepulchre, with the words: "I do not war with the dead, but with the living!" — To-day the political situation was reversed: the emperor and Roman Catholic Germany were the vanquished ones.

A royal servant had led the king's favorite horse after the hearse. Now this man Jacob Ericson, the fallen king's bodyguard, with the burgomaster and two senators, were in the sacristy of the royal church. Ericson carried his arm in a sling; he was, as we know, also wounded at Lützen, near the king.

A November night is very long; in the sacristy

a pleasant warmth prevailed, and the three Wittenberger counsellors, good Evangelical citizens, longed to hear particulars of the death of the great king. The faithful old Ericson was, of course, the proper man to impart this information.

"The report is circulated," said the burgomaster with suppressed voice in deep regard for the place and the subject, "that the king was slain treacherously."

"The duke Francis von Lauenberg is designated as his murderer," responded Ericson, "but do not believe it! The people like to regard the death of great men like their birth, as extraordinary."

"But the duke is said to have fled immediately to Weisenfels," remarked one of the senators.

"Probably because he feared for his own life," added Ericson; "for to my knowledge he has never displayed any particularly heroic nature. I saw distinctly that the king was honorably wounded in the thick of battle after he had felled with his sword several of the enemies who had rushed upon him."

"And where was the body of the king found?"

"Not three horses-length from the spot where I saw him fall from the saddle, without being able, on account of my own physical weakness, to hasten to him. In spite of severe pains in my shattered leg, I tried the next day, with help of several peasants from

Meuchen, to roll a large rock to the spot; but I had to desist from the heavy work. The spot is about forty steps farther to the right on a ridge between the fields, where an Acacian tree stands.”

“And what happened then?” inquired the burgo-master.

“We took the body to Meuchen first. Here it was deposited before the altar in the church. A surgeon examined him and found it necessary to disembowel him immediately. A part of the entrails were entombed the next day under a stone in a wall of the church.¹ After a fervent prayer by the village pastor the body was taken to the schoolmaster’s house, and as this was found too small, to that of a neighbor. Here it was placed on a long table.² The schoolmaster, who was at the same time a carpenter, constructed a plain coffin in which the remains were transferred to Weisenfels on the next day. The royal corpse was here embalmed by the apothecary Casparus.

“Nine wounds were found on the body. All internal organs were entirely healthy; the heart was uncommonly large; it weighed a pound and ten

¹ This spot, distinguishable by the Swedish coat of arms, was examined in 1632, when on removing the stone from the wall, a partly decayed urn of oak was found.

² This same table was exhibited twenty years ago, perhaps it is yet preserved.

In the Royal Church at Wittenberg.

ounces. Never shall I forget the grief of the queen when she beheld the body of her husband. The once beautiful woman looked like a shadow. She kissed the king's face, moistened it with her tears and only separated from her dear departed one upon the urgent entreaties of those around her. At ten o'clock in the evening we left Weisenfels. In all the cities through which we passed the bells tolled, young and old, rich and poor paid tribute to the departed king."

With such and similar conversation the night wore on.

At dawn the procession again began. The three Wittenberger magistrates accompanied it to the Mark of Brandenburg.

In the Ridderholm church in Stockholm rest the ashes of Gustavus Adolphus, the great king of Sweden.

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